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A

VIEW

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN,

DURING THE

ADMINISTRATION

OF

LORD NORTH,

TO THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTEENTH PARLIAMENT.

IN TWO PARTS.

WITH STATEMENTS OF THE PUBLIC EXPENDITURE OF THAT PERIOD.

——*Merſor civi ibus undis.* HOR.

DUBLIN:

Printed by P. BYRNE, Bookſeller, Stationer, &c. No. 35, College-Green, oppoſite to the Statue of K. William.

MDCCLXXXII.

PREFACE.

THE Writer who attempts to lay before his countrymen an impartial Hiſtory of his own time, engages in a difficult, and on many accounts, an unpleaſing work. He is himſelf liable to be drawn imperceptibly into attachments; and there are few readers who can reaſon calmly and judge diſpaſſionately, of preſent miniſters and meaſures.

Theſe conſiderations might have led the Author to ſuppreſs, for ſome years, the latter part of this Hiſtory, (which he has long been forming with ſome degree of laborious reſeach) if the poſture of affairs, did not appear to him to require the recent hiſtory of this country to be related now; that by an epitome of the important tranſactions in which this kingdom has been engaged, the whole may be brought into a cloſe point of view, and the public may from thence be enabled to form a juſter opinion of the meaſures which have been purſued, and how far the buſineſs of the ſtate has been executed faithfully, aſſiduouſly, and wiſely. To arraign miniſters with a petulant and narrow ſpirit of detraction, is illiberal and highly reprehenſible; to examine freely, fairly, and cloſely their principles of action, both as to the objects which they graſp, and the means which they apply, is the birth-right of an Engliſh-

man,

man, and an employment becoming a good citizen.

The Hiſtory of Great Britain during Lord North's miniſtry, will ever be one of its moſt important periods, although it furniſhes few materials to dignify and grace the hiſtoric page. It is filled with eventful operations, but not with brilliant actions; and to relate them becomes rather an act of duty, than a claim to literary fame. The ſubject is intereſting, without being captivating.

The preſent ſituation of theſe kingdoms, though critical, is reſpectable; ſince the bravery and ſkill of our commanders by ſea and land, that native hardineſs and contempt of danger which characteriſe our ſeamen and ſoldiers, have ſuffered no decay, and the nation certainly poſſeſſes many men illuſtrious for virtues, talents, and public ſpirit.

A VIEW

THE

HISTORY

OF

Lord NORTH's Adminiſtration.

PART I.

From Lord North's appointment to the head of the Treaſury, to the diſſolution of Parliament in 1774.

CHAP. I.

Diſcontents occaſioned by the deciſion of the houſe of Commons upon the Middleſex election—Partial repeal of the American port duties—Mr. Grenville's bill for regulating proceedings reſpecting controverted elections—His death and character—Addreſs and remonſtrance from the city of London to his Majeſty—The Earl of Chatham's motion in the houſe of Lords—Addreſs of both houſes on the city remonſtrance—Commotions in Ireland—State of finances for the year 1770—*Death of Mr. Beckford, and ſtate of parties in the city—Falkland's Iſlands ſeiz'd on by the Spaniards—Preparations for war—Negotiations—Reſignations—The diſpute with Spain adjuſted—Probable motives which led to that event—Situation of France—Meeting of Parliament—Miſunderſtanding between the two houſes—Lord North's plan of finance for* 1771—*Proceedings of the houſe of Commons againſt certain printers—Conduct of the magiſtrates of London—The record of*

their

their proceedings erased by order of the house—— The Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver committed to the Tower—Resolutions respecting Mr. Wilkes—Bill to enable the East India Company to raise a military force.

HISTORY cannot furnish such another instance of a great nation, the wonder and admiration of the whole earth, under an established form of government, and in a time of profound peace, so rapidly losing the respect and estimation in which it was held, as this country exhibited, during the few short years that intervened between the conclusion of the peace of Paris, and the time when the minister, whose administration we are now to treat of, took the lead. Instability and weakness marked each successive appointment. In some, these defects were inherent in the men; in others, they arose from the partial support, which they derived from the source of power; whilst among the people discontents, clamours, and outrages prevailed; so as that neither the respect which is naturally annexed to lawful authority, nor even the intervention of a military force, could suppress or check them. The administration which immediately preceded that of which lord North became the head, was indeed the longest, but, at the same time the weakest, of any in that period. It would scarcely be credited, if the fact was not incontrovertible, that a French frigate refused to pay that compliment to the British flag, in our own channel, which has been regularly given ever since we claimed a superiority on the ocean.

These domestic broils were first excited, and afterwards kept up, by a bold and able leader of the people, who having dissipated a large fortune by unbridled excesses, found his creditors become

clamorous

clamorous and his expedients forſake him, whilſt an habitual negligence of his affairs, ſerved to precipitate thoſe diſtreſſes which he ſeemed unmindful to avert. Reduced to extremities, he became a patriot, and, in conjunction with ſome men equally bold, and poſſeſſing talents equally well adapted to the attempt, gained the warm patronage of the people. The oppoſition to government raiſed by theſe active partiſans was more violent and effectual, than that which was carried on againſt Sir Robert Walpole, even when a Pulteney ſpoke and a Bolingbroke wrote, to rouſe the indignation of the people. A daring attack upon the Sovereign, in a publication ſuppoſed to have been written by Mr. Wilkes, the head of this confederacy, cauſed his papers to be ſeized, and himſelf to be taken into cuſtody. This proceeding brought to light a licentious poem, equally repiete with profaneneſs and obſcenity. Every individual member of adminiſtration was ſhocked at ſuch flagitious impiety; and the offences of the man, in whoſe cuſtody it was found, againſt his God and his King, were deſcanted upon with all the energy of virtuous reprobation in both houſes of Parliament. Even Mr. Wilkes's aſſociates in thoſe unhallowed orgies, which this poem was compoſed for the purpoſe of animating, declared their abhorrence of the crime. The diſcovery worked an immediate converſion on a noble lord, who had heretofore been diſtinguiſhed by his zeſt for theſe profanations: with tears in his eyes he read to the houſe the maledictory verſes, and execrated them with all the fervour of new-born zeal. The houſe of Lords cenſured, the houſe of Commons expelled, the offender; the latter voted that Mr. Wilkes, in whoſe cuſtody the poem was found, ſhould be deprived of his ſeat in that houſe, and a new writ

was accordingly iſſued by the ſpeaker for electing another member for the county of Middleſex, which he repreſented. The freeholders, whether from diſtruſt of the purity of the motives which led the houſe of Commons to inflict this puniſhment on their profligate member, or actuated by a ſpirit of indiſcriminating oppoſition, rechoſe Mr. Wilkes for their repreſentative. The houſe rejected him as ineligible, and declared that a member expelled their houſe, was virtually incapacitated from ſitting there during that parliament: notwithſtanding which, a ſecond election terminated in the ſame manner. At length another candidate was prevailed upon to ſtart; he had 296 votes, Mr. Wilkes 1193: the ſheriffs returned the latter, the houſe rejected him, and voted his opponent, Capt. Luttrell, duly elected.* It was even debated, whether the ſheriffs ſhould not feel the diſpleaſure of the houſe for their conduct; but this diſpoſition was renounced, when Sir Fletcher Norton declared, that thoſe officers were bound in duty to act as they had done: the houſe, indeed, might ſet aſide their return, but could not puniſh the ſheriffs for making it under the peculiar circumſtances of the caſe.

This deciſion excited great diſcontents; the people denied that the houſe of Commons had a right to reject a member who had been duly returned by a majority of good votes, and who had no legal incapacity: expulſion, they ſaid, threw ſuch an one on his conſtituents, for them to decide, as they thought fit, on his delinquency; and if he was ſtill the man of their choice, the utmoſt power poſſeſſed by the Commons reached to make the election void, but it could not give the ſeat to a candidate

* April 15, 1769.

didate who had the feweſt ſuffrages. They contended, that although the houſe of commons expelled, it could not incapacitate; ſuch a proſcription could be only rendered legal, by the concurrence of all the three diſtinct parts of the legiſlature. The cry was induſtriouſly ſpread, that the houſe of Commons was aſſuming to itſelf a power, which had never been exerciſed in ſuch a latitude; it was dangerous to the conſtitution, in the preſent inſtance, and likewiſe a flagrant violation of the rights of the people; and, when drawn into a precedent, might in future times be made uſe of to ſtill more fatal purpoſes. On theſe grounds the city of London petitioned the King, praying him to diſſolve the parliament. The nation caught the alarm, and petitions to the ſame purport were ſent up from various parts of the kingdom; the object of which was, in ſome meaſure, counteracted by the addreſſes to the throne, expreſſive of the peoples approbation of the conduct of the parliament. It was whilſt this ferment was at its height, that the Duke of Grafton thought fit to withdraw himſelf from power, and reſign the adminiſtration of affairs to Lord North.*

This miniſter, the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Guilford, is deſcended from an ancient family, the younger branch of which roſe into conſiderable conſequence under the favour of Henry VIII. and from the anceſtors ſo patronized, many eminent men have ſprung in different ages, diſtinguiſhed for their valour, wiſdom, learning and abilities. When the States of Holland threw off the yoke of Spain, Roger, the ſecond Lord North, diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Engliſh who ſupported the cauſe of religion and liberty in the Low Countries, and was wounded in the engagement before

* Jan. 1770.

before Zutphen, in which Sir Philip Sidney was ſlain. His ſon died in the Netherlands, and his grandſon, Dudley Lord North, was nominated by both houſes of parliament in 1645, in conjunction with the Earls of Northumberland, Eſſex and Warwick, to manage the affairs of the Admiralty. The ſtateſmen and writers who have ſince ſprung from this ſtock, are well known to every one.

Lord North ſoon after he became of age, was elected to a ſeat in parliament at the general election in 1754, and towards the concluſion of the laſt reign, was appointed a commiſſioner of the treaſury and treaſurer of the exchequer. His reliſh for buſineſs and ſteady attention to it, joined to the early connections which had been formed with his ſovereign †, procured him to be appointed in the year 1767, a joint paymaſter of the forces and chancellor of the exchequer.

One of the firſt acts of the new miniſter, was the bringing in a bill * for the repeal of ſo much of a late act of parliament as related to the impoſing of a duty on paper, painters colours, and glaſs, imported into America; the tax upon tea, which was laid on by the ſame act, was ſtill continued. This repeal was made in compliance with the prayer of a petition, preſented by the American merchants to the houſe of Commons, ſetting forth the great loſſes they ſuſtained, and the fatal effects produced by the late laws, which for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in the colonies, had impoſed duties upon goods exported from Great-Britain thither.

It

† The Earl of Guilford was appointed tutor to the preſent King in 1750, and the year before, when the tragedy of Cato was performed at Leiceſter-houſe, Prince George played the part of Portius, and Lord North that of Syphax.

* March 5, 1770.

It was much inſiſted upon by thoſe members who had uniformly oppoſed the laying internal taxes upon America, that now, as the miniſter began to recede, the act which impoſed theſe duties ſhould be at once totally repealed. To this it was objected, that the colonies, inſtead of deſerving additional inſtances of tenderneſs, did not, in fact, deſerve the inſtance then ſhewn, as their conduct had become more violent than ever; and their aſſociations, inſtead of ſupplicating, proceeded to dictate, and grew at length to ſuch a height of temerity, that adminiſtration could not, for its own credit, go as far as it might incline, to gratify their expectations: that was the tax to be wholly aboliſhed, it would not either excite their gratitude or re-eſtabliſh their tranquility; they would ſet the abolition to the account, not of the lenity, but of the fears of government; and upon a ſuppoſition that we were to be terrified into any conceſſion, they would make freſh demands, and riſe in their turbulence, inſtead of returning to their duty. Experience had fatally proved this to be their diſpoſition: we repealed the ſtamp-act, to comply with their deſires, but they have neither learnt obedience or moderation thereby; on the contrary, our lenity has encouraged them to inſult our authority, to diſpute our rights, and aim at independent government. While therefore the Americans deny our power to tax them, is it proper for us to acquieſce in the argument of illegality, and by the repeal of the whole law to give up the power? Such a conduct would be to betray ourſelves out of compliment to them, and through a wiſh of rendering more than juſtice to America, reſign the controlling ſupremacy of England.

Theſe arguments did not paſs without animadverſion from the other ſide of the houſe. The miniſters,

miniſters, ſaid the oppoſition, condemn the conceſſions of their predeceſſors, yet they begin themſelves by conceſſion, with this only difference, that their's is without grace, benignity, or policy, and that they yield after a vexatious ſtruggle. It was obſerved, that a partial repeal, inſtead of producing any benefit to the mother-country, would be a real grievance, a certain expence to ourſelves, as well as a ſource of perpetual diſcontents to the colonies. By continuing the trifling tax upon tea, while we take off the duties upon painters colours, paper and glaſs, we keep up the whole eſtabliſhment of cuſtom-houſes in America, with their long hydra-headed train of dependents, and yet cut off the very channels through which their voracious appetites are to be glutted. The tea duty, it was aſſerted, would by no means anſwer the expence of collecting it, and the deficiencies muſt of courſe be made up out of the revenue of this country.

It plainly appears, that the object of the miniſter was not that of revenue, but by the moſt ſecret and apparently unimportant ſteps, to obliterate from the minds of the Americans, thoſe horrid ideas which they had formed of internal taxation; and in effecting this, an eſſential ſervice was meant to be rendered to the Eaſt India Company, who felt very ſenſibly the diminution of their exports to America. In the year 1768, they had exported to that continent teas to the value of 132,000 l. the next year their exports declined to 44,000 l. whilſt they ſtill continued to leſſen in the ſame rapid manner. This was an evil of ſuch a magnitude, as to force itſelf upon the miniſter's attention. The company paid a duty of 25 per cent. on their exported teas, which greatly inhanced the price at the market, and enabled the Dutch to ſupply the colonies much cheaper; this duty was therefore diſcontinued,

diſcontinued, whereby the price of teas, in America, was ſo materially reduced, that it was preſumed the continuing of the duty of the three pence per pound weight on that commodity, would be entirely overlooked.

Before this bill had paſſed the lower houſe, Mr. George Grenville brought in a bill,* entitled, "An Act for regulating the proceedings of the houſe of Commons on controverted elections." The regulations made thereby, were, that inſtead of bringing the merits of a conteſted election before a general committee of the houſe, upon a petition being received, a day ſhould be appointed to hear the merits, and for the petitioners, their witneſſes, and counſel to attend. On the day appointed, the houſe ſhould be counted, and if it was found not to have one hundred members preſent, the buſineſs ſhould ſtand over until ſo many were aſſembled; at which time the names of the members in the houſe, were to be put into ſix boxes, or glaſſes, to be drawn alternately, and read by the ſpeaker, until forty-nine are drawn; the ſitting member, and petitioner, may alſo nominate one each. Liſts of the forty-nine members thus ſelected, are then to be given to the parties, who, with the clerk of the houſe of commons, are to withdraw, and to ſtrike off one alternately, beginning on the part of the petitioner, till the number be reduced to thirteen; who, with the two nominees, are to be ſworn a ſelect committee, to determine the matter in diſpute; being inveſted with every requiſite power for the obtaining information; and on their report the houſe ſhall either confirm or alter, the return, or iſſue a new writ for a freſh election.

* March 7, 1770.

tion. This bill was not reliſhed by the miniſtry, but as the ſenſe of the houſe went with it, it paſſed into a law †.

The regulations eſtabliſhed by this act, effectually prevented powerful intereſt and perſonal partiality determining the fate of a controverted election, without regarding the merits of the caſe, or the conduct of the candidates. Such proceedings had prevailed in perverſion of equity, and to the diſgrace of the houſe. From henceforth the deciſions of parliament, in regard to conteſted elections, were the reſult of deliberate and unprejudiced examination.

This was the laſt public ſervice which Mr. Geo. Grenville rendered his country: he cloſed an active and laborious life, on the 30th of July following, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Perhaps no other man ever filled ſo many of the great departments in government. After being for ſome years a commiſſioner of the admiralty, he preſided at that board for a ſhort time, which he quitted to become ſecretary of ſtate; he was afterwards firſt lord of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer. The naval department is much indebted to him for many wholeſome rules, and the whole body of ſeamen for a very ſalutary law which regulated

† During the next ſeſſion of parliament, the benefit of this act became apparent. A conteſted election for the borough of New Shoreham being brought before the ſelect committee, a long eſtabliſhed plan of corruption, which had prevailed in that borough, was revealed. In conſequence of a report made to the houſe, a bill was framed to incapacitate eighty-one freemen of Shoreham, by name, to vote at elections of members to ſerve in parliament, and for the preventing bribery and corruption in that borough; and an addreſs was voted to his Majeſty, that the Attorney-general ſhould be directed to proſecute five, who were principal agents in the regular ſale of the borough.

This act was made perpetual in the year 1774, contrary to the inclination of the miniſter, who again oppoſed it ſtrenuouſly.

ſated the payment of their wages, and which put an end to many grievous frauds and abuſes which uſed to attend ſuch payments.* The talents of this ſtateſman were rather uſeful than ſplendid; better fitted to correct abuſes in the internal government of the ſtate, than to conduct the affairs of a great empire, in ſituations peculiarly intricate. During Mr. Pitt's brilliant adminiſtration, Mr. George Grenville oppoſed the meaſures then purſued, altho' framed by the huſband of his ſiſter; but his laboured reſearches were conſtantly nullified, by the emanations of Mr. Pitt's enlightened mind † The meaſures reſpecting the American colonies, which were adopted and carried into effect during Mr. Grenville's ſhort adminiſtration, it is not our buſineſs to ſpeak of here; let it ſuffice to ſay, that the integrity of his conduct, and

* 31 George II.

† No orator ever more fully poſſeſſed the talent of turning the edge of an antagoniſt's argument by a ſportive ſally, than this Engliſh Demoſthenes, Whilſt he was leading miniſter in the houſe of Commons, Mr. Grenville oppoſed a meaſure, which was carrying thro' that houſe, by aſking, where we ſhould find men? where we ſhould find money? where we ſhould find ſhips? &c. In the midſt of theſe interrogations, the miniſter aroſe from his ſeat, and with a dignified pleaſantry exclaiming,

Tell me, gentle ſhepherd, where;

deliberately walked out of the houſe. In conſequence of which incident, Mr. Grenville was known by the appellation of "the gentle ſhepherd" for many years. Mr. Pitt treated his brother-in-law as a dull ſyſtematic politician, whoſe attention was directed to minute objects, being incapable of forming a noble and comprehenſive plan of policy. He repreſented him as coming with his dog's-eared ſtatutes to a debate. Mr. Burke, ſome few years after, alluding to this remark, made by the oracle of the ſenate, talked of having ſtudied "till he had made dog's ears in the ſtatute books."

and his zeal to promote the welfare of his country, remain unimpeached.

Meanwhile, the city of London having taken the lead in every meaſure, which oppoſed the conduct of the houſe of Commons, in ſeating Col. Luttrell as member for Middleſex, and excluding Mr. Wilkes, could not quietly behold that great national queſtion likely to be paſſed over without any farther diſcuſſion. Mr. Beckford, who was then a ſecond time lord mayor, had ever been diſtinguiſhed for the warm manner in which he maintained the rights of the people to chooſe their repreſentatives without any control of parliament. The livery of London were convened in Common Hall, and it was there reſolved to preſent an *humble* addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition to his majeſty, in the names of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, praying for a diſſolution of parliament, and the removal of evil miniſters.* In this piece, the title and contents of which ſeemed at variance, great freedom and ſpirit were indulged. His majeſty was therein told, " that under the ſame ſecret and malignant influence, which thro' each ſucceſſive adminiſtration has defeated every good, and ſuggeſted every bad intention, the majority of the houſe of Commons have deprived his people of their deareſt rights. They have done a deed more ruinous in its conſequences, than the levying of ſhip-money by Charles the Iſt. or the diſpenſing power aſſumed by James the IId. a deed which muſt vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legiſlature itſelf can no more be valid without a legal houſe of Commons, than without a legal Prince upon the throne. Repreſentatives of the people are

* March 17, 1770.

are eſſential to the making of laws; and there is a time when it is morally demonſtrable that men ceaſe to be repreſentatives. That time is now arrived. The preſent houſe of Commons do not repreſent the people. We owe to your majeſty an obedience, under the reſtriction of the laws, for the calling and duration of parliaments; and your majeſty owes to us, that our repreſentation, free from the force of arms or corruption, ſhould be preſerved to us in parliament. It was for this we ſucceſsfully ſtruggled under James the IId. for this we ſeated, and have faithfully ſupported your majeſty's family on the throne. Under James the IId. the people complained that the ſitting of parliament was interrupted, becauſe it was not corruptly ſubſervient to his deſigns: we complain now, that the ſitting of this parliament, is not interrupted, becauſe it is corruptly ſubſervient to your majeſty's miniſters. We call God and man to witneſs, that as we do not owe our liberty to thoſe nice and ſubtle diſtinctions, which places, penſions, and lucrative employments have invented, ſo neither will we be deprived of it by them; but, as it was gained by the ſtern virtue of our anceſtors, by the virtue of their deſcendants it ſhall be preſerved."

His majeſty, in his anſwer, told them, "that he ſhould always be ready to receive the requeſts, and to liſten to the complaints of his ſubjects; but it gave him great concern to find, that any of them ſhould have been ſo far miſled, as to offer him an addreſs and remonſtrance, the contents of which he could not but conſider as diſreſpectful to him, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the conſtitution."

The day on which this addreſs was delivered, the earl of Chatham made a motion in the houſe of

Lords

Lords for an addreſs to the throne, praying his majeſty to diſſolve the parliament. He ſtated the public diſcontents in England, Ireland, and America; affirmed, that the people had no confidence in the then ſubſiſting houſe of Commons; and ſhewed, from the ſituation of public affairs, the great neceſſity of having a parliament, in whom the people could place a proper confidence. The motion was overruled by a great majority.

The next day a member in the houſe of Commons moved to addreſs the king, praying, that a copy of the city addreſs, as well as his majeſty's anſwer, might be laid before the houſe. A very animated debate enſued. The lord mayor, who was one of the members for the city, inſtead of ſhrinking from the conteſt, avowed the part he had taken in the remonſtrance, maintained the propriety of it, and declared, that he ſhould ever glory in it. Mr. Trecothick, another city member, and the two ſheriffs, Mr. Townſend and Mr. Sawbridge, who were members, ſupported their chief Magiſtrate againſt the weight of the houſe; they juſtified the language uſed to his majeſty, and declared themſelves ready to enter into the merits of that tranſaction. This brought on a long and animated debate, in which the right of the ſubject to petition the throne was diſcuſſed; and the houſe was much divided in ſentiment, not only concerning the propriety of the city of London preſenting a petition to the throne, for the purpoſe of cenſuring the conduct of the Commons of Great-Britain, but more particularly concerning the expreſſions made uſe of in their remonſtrance; and many members, who approved of this mode of conveying to the royal ear the grievances of the people, reprobated the terms made uſe of on this occaſion. Others, with great animation, endea-

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voured to ſtir up the houſe to inflict ſome ſignal puniſhment on the principal inſtigators to a corporate act, which, they ſaid, had denied the authority of parliament, inſulted the throne, and was performed with all the circumſtances of tumultuous parade; which tended to terrify the minds of the peaceable, and inflame the paſſions of every miſguided member of the community. The motion for an addreſs was at length carried by a great majority, and when in conſequence thereof the remonſtrance was laid before the houſe, after the journals and other records had been examined, the houſe paſſed a reſolution to addreſs his majeſty, and to confer with the Lords to obtain their concurrence thereto; which being readily given, the addreſs was preſented on the 23d of March. It acknowledged the right of the ſubject to petition the throne, but cenſured, very ſeverely, the indiſcreet manner in which this right had been exerciſed by the city of London; the direct tendency of which was, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and ſubvert all lawful authority. Many people expected, that freſh inſtances of expulſion and incapacitation would have enſued, but more moderate meaſures prevailed, and, with the addreſs, the buſineſs was diſmiſſed.

Whilſt this conteſt was carried on between the repreſentative body of their conſtituents, cauſes of diſſenſion aroſe in Ireland, between the houſe of Commons there, and the lord lieutenant. A new parliament had met, and it had ever been cuſtomary on thoſe occaſions, ſince the reign of Henry VII. for a money-bill to be framed in the privy-council of that kingdom, and from thence brought into parliament; the object of which was, not to raiſe any material ſupply, but to ſecure to government the mere form of a right derived from Poy-

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ning's law, which was never meant to be exerciſed for any purpoſe of revenue, and was repugnant to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of both kingdoms; one of the fundamental principles of which being, that all money-bills ſhall originate in the houſe of Commons. On this ground the bill was rejected; but to ſhew that its rejection aroſe from a diſlike of the mode, not from a reluctance to grant the requiſite aids, another money-bill was framed by the houſe, which made ample proviſion for government,* and was paſſed with great unanimity. A bill for augmenting the land forces, from 12,000 to 15,000 men, had been before paſſed; whereupon Lord Townſhend, the lord lieutenant, delivered a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he thanked them for their liberality, but expreſſed ſtrong reſentment at the rejection of the privy council money-bill in the houſe of Commons; which he conſidered as incroaching upon the rights of the crown, and entered a formal proteſt againſt it in the houſe of lords; and to puniſh the kingdom for this act of temerity in their repreſentatives, he ſuddenly prorogued the parliament to a long day; whereby a great variety of public and private buſineſs, eſſential to the intereſts of the community at large, as well as to individuals, was at once ſuſpended. Such an unexpected ſtroke threw the whole kingdom into confuſion.

The minority in the Engliſh houſe of Commons deſcanted with great ſpirit on this tranſaction; the conduct of government was cenſured with freedom: it was charged with having cajoled the parliament of Ireland out of a large ſum of money,

* Upwards of two millions of money were granted for two years.

ney, for the purpoſe of obtaining a military augmentation in a time of profound peace, which conduct demanded the ſtricteſt enquiry.

The miniſtry defended the conduct of the lord lieutenant, by repreſenting the Iriſh houſe of Commons as making reſolutions repugnant to Poyning's law, and of courſe ſubverſive of our authority over Ireland, which warranted the caſtigatory meaſure which had been afterwards taken to inculcate a ſenſe of their duty. The manner of the prorogation of the parliament, was ſaid to be ſupported both by precedent and reaſon. The majority of the houſe admitted the validity of the juſtification.

Notwithſtanding the ſpeech from the throne at opening the ſeſſion had recommended the affairs of America to the attention of both houſes, and that before the riſing of parliament news had arrived of an affray, attended with very ſerious conſequences, having happened at Boſton, between the king's troops and the townſmen;* and that the oppoſition in both houſes repeatedly preſſed for ſuch enquiries, yet miniſtry ſtudiouſly avoided bringing the buſineſs under diſcuſſion. and the ſeſſion was cloſed on the 19th of May.

The expence of the ſervices for the year 1770, amounted to 7,455,042 l. For the land forces in Great-Britain, &c. conſiſting of 17,666 effective men, ordnance, and every contingency of the army, 1,561,681 l. The farther ſum of 235,266 l. was voted to make good a debt of laſt year on army extraordinaries. For the navy, being 16,000 ſeamen, including 4,287 marines, 1,522,067 l. For maintaining the civil government in the different provinces of North America, and incidental ex-

pences,

* March 5, 1770.

pences, 18,760 l. One million eight hundred thouſand pounds in exchequer bills diſcharged. Five thouſand pounds was voted to the inhabitants of Barbadoes, to enable them to cleanſe their channel, repair the mole, and render their harbour more ſafe and commodious: 55,011 l. to make good the deficiency of grants for the preceding year: 45,565 l. to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel for expences incurred during the late war in Germany, as reported by the commiſſioners appointed to examine and ſtate ſuch claims and demands: a million and a half capital ſtock, of three and a half per cent. annuities, eſtabliſhed 29th Geo. II. (1756) was redeemed and paid off at par; and a navy debt of 100,000 l. was diſcharged.

To make good theſe ſupplies the land tax was continued at three ſhillings in the pound; the malt tax was eſtimated at 700,000 l. One million eight hundred thouſand pounds was raiſed by exchequer bills, which was equivalent to the ſum diſcharged; 400,000 l. which the Eaſt-India company had ſtipulated to pay annually, in reſpect to the territorial acquiſions and revenues lately obtained in the Eaſt, the two quarterly receipts from the ſinking fund, ending January 5, and April 5, 1770, which amounted together to 1,072,615 l. were charged upon the aids and ſupplies; likewiſe 13,596 l. remaining in the exchequer, April 5, over and above the ſurplus of the ſinking fund; and 55,495 l. in the hands of the paymaſter-general of his Majeſty's forces. Five hundred thouſand pounds was raiſed by a lottery, for which the next year was to be charged in payment of the prizes to an equal amount. The produce of the ſinking fund was anticipated in the ſum of 1,700,000 l. The whole amount of

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ways and means was 7,794,224 l. and exceeded the eſtimate of ſupplies by 344,182 l.

Such was the firſt inſtance of the new financier's abilities, towards alleviating the national burdens. With the aſſiſtance which government received from the Eaſt-India company, a large ſum from the paymaſter-general, and anticipating the produce of the ſinking fund, the miniſter paid off a million and a half of the national debt, and reduced two millions and a half of four per cent ſtocks * to three per cent. by allowing the holders 8 l. for every hundred pounds ſtock in two lottery tickets; reckoning the tickets at 14 l. each, and ſelling them to ſuch ſtockholders at 10 l. each. By this reduction 25,000 l. per annum was ſaved to the nation in intereſt; but as the whole produce of the lottery was diſtributed into prizes which were to be paid in money, and as the half million which they amounted to was applied to the current ſervice of the year, the national debt was increaſed half a million; and reckoning the intereſt thereupon at three and a half per cent. government continued to pay the public 17,500 l. per annum; ſo that in conſequence of that tranſaction, 7,500 l. was ſaved in the annual intereſt of the national debt, and a year's intereſt for half a million.

A few days after the riſing of parliament, another humble addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen and common-coun-

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* This was part of twelve millions borrowed in 1762, for which four per cent. intereſt was to be paid for 19 years, after which time, the ſtock was to be reduced to three per cent. per annum; the ſubſcribers were farther gratified with one per cent. on the loan for a very long term. The miniſter therefore, gave 8 l. for an annuity of 20 s. per ann. for eleven years.

cil of the city of London, was preſented to his majeſty; which expreſſed the deep concern which the city of London felt, at the awful ſentence of cenſure lately paſſed upon it, in his majeſty's anſwer from the throne; and after recapitulating the grievances complained of in former addreſſes, it concluded with a prayer to heaven, that his majeſty might reign, as kings * only can reign, in and by the hearts of a loyal, dutiful, and free people.

His majeſty in his anſwer told them, that he ſhould have been wanting to the public, as well as to himſelf, if he had not expreſſed his diſſatisfaction at the late addreſs. After which the lord mayor requeſted leave to reply, which being granted, his lordſhip addreſſed his ſovereign, and begged leave to declare in his royal preſence, on behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehenſion of his majeſty's diſpleaſure would, at all times, affect their minds; the declaration of which had filled them with inexpreſſible anxiety, and with the deepeſt affliction. He ſupplicated his majeſty not to diſmiſs them from his preſence without ſome comfort, and proſpect at leaſt of redreſs. No anſwer being returned, the lord mayor and thoſe who accompanied him withdrew.

The birth of a princeſs occaſioned the city of London to preſent a congratulatory addreſs to his majeſty on that event, a week after; when the lord chamberlain acquainted the lord mayor, that as his lordſhip thought fit to ſpeak to his majeſty after his anſwer to the late remonſtrance, he was directed to inform him, as it was unuſual, his majeſty deſired that nothing of that kind might happen

* It is to be preſumed that kings of England are here meant.

pen for the future. This was the laſt public tranſaction in which Mr. Beckford was engaged. He died three weeks after of a fever. As he poſſeſſed a very ample fortune, was ſplendid and munificent in his manner of living, had a ſtrong and agreeable elocution, and ſteadily oppoſed the meaſures of the court, he was greatly reſpected and confided in. His influence was exerted, to check and reſtrain the jarring intereſts which prevailed among the leaders of oppoſition in the city. A ſociety had been formed under the tittle of "The Supporters of the Bill of Rights," one principal object of which was to exonerate Mr. Wilkes from his debts. Soon after Mr. Beckford's death, violent diſſentions broke out; many of the members ſeceded, and called themſelves "The Conſtitutional Society." Theſe two bodies of men entertained a hearty contempt for each other, and the object of procuring redreſs of the violated rights of the electors of Great-Britain, which had at firſt united them, ſeemed loſt in private animoſities.

Lord Chatham, who had ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, had predicted, that a great blow either was, or would ſoon be ſtruck, in ſome part of the world. The event proved how well that conſummate ſtateſman was acquainted with the reſolutions which were formed in foreign cabinets, for in the month of June, 1770, a ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips ſailed from Buenos Ayres, for the purpoſe of ſeizing upon Falkland's Iſlands, where the Engliſh a few years before had made a ſettlement, by erecting a fort which they called Egmont, and where two ſloops then lay. The Spaniſh commander, Don Madariaga, ſummoned the fort to ſurrender to the catholic king; which being refuſed, he proceeded to

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poſſeſs himſelf of it by force of arms. Captain Farmer, who commanded in the fort, having remonſtrated in vain againſt the inſult which was offered the king his maſter, in a time of of a profound peace, was obliged to ſubmit. A capitulation was ſigned, after which the captain and garriſon were detained in port twenty nine days, and the rudder of his ſhip taken away, before he was permitted to return home.

Theſe iſlands are ſituated to the eaſtward of the ſtraits of Magellan, and are the moſt deſolate and dreary of habitable regions, although not ſo high in ſouthern latitude, as the iſland of Angleſea lies to the north; but many reaſons induced our court to form a ſettlement there. It was in contemplation to encourage a whale fiſhery in thoſe ſouthern regions from North America, and the poſſeſſion of this ſpot was thought beneficial for the purpoſe of exploring the South Sea, which at that time was a favourite purſuit. The French had claimed theſe iſlands, in conſequence of M. de Bougainville having viſited them before Commodore Byron; he gave them the name of Malounes, and his court transferred the right therein to the Spaniards; but the Engliſh claim was founded upon a diſcovery made of them in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

That the court of Spain ſhould look with a jealous eye on a ſettlement made by the Engliſh, in a part of the world where the Spaniards had excluded all other nations, is no ways ſurpriſing; but that ſhe ſhould be hardy enough to deprive us by force of that poſſeſſion, in violation of the peace which then ſubſiſted, and when ſhe had ſo lately felt the force of our arms in every quarter of the world, which in leſs than a twelve-month had opened to themſelves a way to all her reſources of wealth; that ſhe ſhould riſque the irritating of ſuch

a power,

a power, argued great temerity; an utter oblivion of the moderation and lenity which dictated the laſt peace on the part of Great-Britain, and a full perſuaſion that her late victorious adverſary, from ſome ſecret cauſe, operating ſtrongly on every department of the ſtate, was ſunk into a condition, which made her no longer dreaded. It was remarked, that the expedition againſt Port Egmont did not appear to have been a ſudden ill-concerted enterprize, but to have been conducted not only with the uſual military precautions, but in all the forms and ceremonies of war. A frigate was firſt employed to examine the ſtrength of the place, a meſſage was then ſent by Don Franciſco Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, demanding immediate poſſeſſion in the catholic king's name, and ordering our people to depart; at laſt a military force appeared, and compelled our garriſon to ſurrender.

News of this expedition arrived at Cadiz the latter end of Auguſt, immediately upon which Mr. Harris, our *chargé des affaires* at the court of Madrid, ſent advice of this tranſaction to Lord Weymouth, ſecretary of ſtate, which arrived about the ſame time that the Prince de Maſſerano, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, had acquainted his lordſhip, that he had good reaſon to believe his catholic majeſty's governor of Buenos Ayres, had taken upon him to make uſe of force, in order to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of their ſettlement at Port Egmont in Falkland's Iſlands; adding, that he was directed to make this communication, to prevent the bad conſequences which might ariſe from its coming through other hands; and expreſſing his wiſhes, that whatever the event at Port Egmont might be, in conſequence of a ſtep of the governor, taken without any particular inſtruction from his catholic

lic majeſty, it might not be productive of meaſures at this court, dangerous to the good underſtanding which ſubſiſted between the two crowns. Lord Weymouth hereupon aſked the ambaſſador, if he was ordered to diſavow the conduct of M. Buccarelli the governor; which was anſwered in the negative, until he ſhould hear from Madrid.

When Mr. Harris applied to M. de Grimaldi, the prime miniſter of Spain, for a diſavowal of this proceeding, his anſwer was very unſatisfactory: he ſaid, the Britiſh court had reaſon to foreſee ſuch an event would happen, ſince our eſtabliſhment there was notoriouſly diſapproved by Spain. He could not, he ſaid, blame the conduct of M. Buccarelli, as it was founded on the laws of America; but added, that his catholic majeſty was very deſirous of peace, having ſo little to gain and ſo much to loſe by a war; therefore he would avoid it at any rate conſiſtent with his own honour, and the welfare of his people. And a few days after he acquainted Mr. Harris, that the king, his maſter, was reſolved to do every thing in his power to terminate this affair in an amicable manner; that therefore he admitted our demand, and that he aſſented to it in every point conſiſtent with his honour, which, as well as ours, was to be conſidered: that however, as this matter could only be determined in London, and not at Madrid, orders had been given to Prince Maſſerano to lay before Lord Weymouth the ſeveral ideas which had been ſuggeſted on this head; and as they only differed in the terms, and not eſſentially, he truſted ſome one of them would be adopted.

Prince Maſſerano, on receipt of his diſpatches, propoſed a convention between the two crowns, in which he ſhould diſavow, in the name of the king his maſter, any particular orders given to M. Buc-

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carelli upon this occaſion; at the ſame time that he acknowledged him to act agreeably to his geral inſtructions, and to his oath as governor; the reſtitution of Falkland's Iſlands was to be thereby acceded to, without any injury to his catholic majeſty's right to thoſe iſlands; but the king of Great-Britain was at the ſame time called upon to diſavow on his part, a menace of one of his captains, which was ſaid to have occaſioned the ſteps taken by the Spaniſh governor.

This mode of adjuſting the difference by convention, was rejected, as totally inadmiſſible; notwithſtanding which, our miniſtry did not deſpair of an accommodation at the time when the parliament met.* Indeed, before the news of the capture of Port Egmont had been officially known, ſixteen ſail of the line had been put into commiſſion: Admiral Keppel was appointed to command the fleet, and preſs warrants were iſſued out for manning it. The people of England are ever ready to draw the ſword, when either their intereſt or their honour appears to be attacked. On this occaſion the nation felt itſelf inſulted, and called for vengeance; but our national ſtrength was not found adequate to great undertakings; our navy, the pride and the protection of England, during an eight years peace, had been ſuffered to fall into decay; and when the ſurveyor of the navy, to whom, under the firſt lord of the admiralty, this important truſt was committed, found his delinquency revealed, he eluded the reſentment of his country by a ſudden death. The ſailors, who had been ever ready in former conteſts to embark in a war with Spain, were now backward to engage in the ſervice; this was chiefly owing to the ill-treatment which both the ſoldiers and ſailors received who went on the expedition againſt the Havannah,

* Nov. 13, 1770.

vannah, the laſt and moſt deſtructive ſervice in the late war; in which, the common men received ſcarce any proportion of the vaſt wealth which was acquired; owing to a ſecret regulation being ſettled at home, before the expedition ſet forward, by which the commander in chief of the fleet and army, were to receive one-third, inſtead of one-eighth of the prize money. *

In the king's ſpeech, it was obſerved, that "the honour of the crown, and the rights of the people, were deeply affected by an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres." This expreſſion was much animadverted upon, and the miniſter was ſeverely cenſured both in parliament and without doors, for cauſing his royal maſter to repreſent to his people, an open act of hoſtility authoriſed by the catholic king, as an act of a governor. Nor were the ſubſequent parts of the ſpeech leſs criticiſed: this act, it was ſaid, to avoid the mention of a regular ſiege and ſurrender, paſſes under the piratical deſcription of ſeizing by force, and the thing taken is deſcribed not as part of the king's territory, or proper dominion, but merely as "a poſſeſſion;" a word expreſsly choſen in contradiction to, and excluſive of, the idea of right. But the caution uſed in the manner of wording the ſpeech, may be very well defended. Our right to the wretched ſpot for which we contended, had ever been diſputed by Spain. When Lord Anſon returned from his circumnavigation of the globe, he recommended a ſettlement being made on Pe-

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* This ſtipulation was one of the firſt acts of the miniſtry who ſucceeded Mr. Pitt, and ſtamps an indelible diſgrace on all concerned. It was a flagrant act of injuſtice to make a ſecret bargain, whereby 30,000 men were deprived of their hard-earned reward.

py's or Falkland's Iſlands which would actually have been carried into execution, but for the remonſtrances made by the court of Spain; in compliance with which it was totally laid aſide, until Lord Egmont was placed at the head of the admiralty, in 1764, a nobleman whom one of the ableſt advocates for the conduct of adminiſtration in this buſineſs, deſcribes as poſſeſſing a vigorous and ardent mind; whoſe knowledge was extenſive, and whoſe deſigns were magnificent; but who had ſomewhat vitiated his judgment, by too much indulgence of romantic projects and airy ſpeculations. But however this may be, the new ſettlement was made with great caution, the commanding officer at Port Egmont being inſtructed, to warn off any other European power who might attempt to make a ſettlement on Falkland's Iſlands; but if he found any already eſtabliſhed there, he was then to make a joint ſettlement with ſuch, if they refuſed to depart after due warning; referring the deciſion of right to their two ſovereigns.

There appears to be a moderation, not unmixed with firmneſs, in adminiſtration, during this conteſt; which renders the conduct purſued on this occaſion, diſſimilar to that which has been adopted on all our diſputes with Spain, in former reigns: if it did not reſemble the ſpirited attacks made by queen Elizabeth, as ſoon as ſhe diſcovered the intentions of the Spaniſh monarch, it was equally unlike the abject condeſcenſions of her puſillanimous ſucceſſor. It had nothing of the greedy thirſt of ſpoil which led Cromwell to wage an unjuſt war with Spain, nor of that deciſive boldneſs, which at one ſtroke made us maſters of her navy in the reign of George I. but then it was as free from any thing like Walpole's ſelfiſh

indifference

indifference to the intereſts of the nation. The conteſt was not for dominion, or for any valuable commercial object, but for a point of honour; whether we ſhould hold a barren iſland, in the vicinity of the Spaniſh territories, of which we had taken poſſeſſion on the preſumption of having a prior right thereto, but which right, as already obſerved, had ever been diſputed by Spain.

Nor is it difficult to aſſign reaſons for this moderation in the Britiſh cabinet. It ſeems to have been a ſettled principle from the very commencement of the preſent reign, to keep clear of foreign war as much as poſſible. The long reign of George II. was conſidered as having thrown too much weight into the ſcale of the people; it was repreſented, by thoſe who poſſeſſed the royal confidence, that a turbulent factious ſpirit was gone forth; that the inſolence of the vulgar exceeded the example of former times; that all reſpect for lawful authority was loſt, and the licentiouſneſs of the preſs had levelled all diſtinctions, whether of birth, fortune, or talents, traducing with a bold effrontery the characters moſt eminent for wiſdom and virtue. The body of the Engliſh gentry in general, adopted theſe ſentiments, and were ready to concur with the court to reſtrain the violence of the lower orders in the ſtate: the manners of the age being formed by wealth, luxury, and refinement, made the tumults of a mob appear more dreadful than the encroachments of a miniſter; and the ſtability which government ſeemed now to have required, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition which had been formed againſt it, pointed out the preſent ſeaſon as the moſt proper for introducing internal regulations. Whilſt a time of peace was neceſſary to effect theſe objects at home, it was ſtill more requiſite, for purſuing

ſuing the meaſures which were thought expedient to bring the American colonies under due ſubordination to the preſent ſtate. Theſe conſiderations, probably, induced our miniſters to continue the negociation with the ambaſſador and court of Spain, during the months of September, October, and November. At length, Lord Weymouth informed Mr. Harris, that from the conduct of Prince Maſſerano, he ſaw but little reaſon to expect an amicable termination of this affair; and adviſed him if poſſible, to convey an hint of this to the lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, and the conſuls at the different ports of Spain. The governor of Gibraltar was alſo ordered to embark immediately for that fortreſs.

Such was the poſture of affairs when the parliament adjourned for the Chriſtmas receſs, during which, Lord Weymouth reſigned his poſt, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of Rochford, * who, a few days after his appointment, wrote Mr. Harris a letter of recall; but a month after, he directed him, by another letter, to return to Madrid, as there were reaſons to believe, that freſh propoſitions of ſatisfaction would be made for the injury done.

On

* Many other changes took place at the ſame time; Sir Edward Hawke reſigned his poſt, of firſt lord of the admiralty, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of Sandwich; the Earl of Suffolk was appointed keeper of the privy-ſeal in the room of the Earl of Halifax, who ſucceeded Lord Sandwich as ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department. The great ſeal, which had been held by commiſſion ever ſince Lord Camden was diveſted of it, was at length given to Mr. Bathurſt, who was created Baron Apſley, and appointed Lord Chancellor. Mr. De Grey was made chief juſtice of the Common Pleas; Mr. Thurlow, attorney-general; and Mr. Wedderburne, who had been ſtrongly engaged in oppoſition, became ſolicitor-general, and alſo cofferer to the queen: by which laſt appointments miniſtry gained a very able advocate.

On the day the parliament met, after the receſs, * a declaration was ſigned by Prince Maſſerano, and an acceptance thereof by the Earl of Rochford. By the former, the ambaſſador, in the name of his maſter, diſavowed the violence uſed at Port Egmont, and ſtipulated that every thing ſhould be reſtored there, preciſely to the ſame ſtate in which they were before the reduction; but at the ſame time declared, that this reſtoration was not in any wiſe to affect the queſtion of the prior right of ſovereignty over thoſe iſlands: and, by the acceptance, the performance of theſe ſtipulations was to be conſidered as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great-Britain.

When the declaration and acceptance had been laid before parliament, an addreſs was preſented, for copies of all claims and propoſitions, made by the court of Spain, relative to Falkland's Iſlands, from the firſt ſettlement of it, together with the anſwers. This produced nothing previous to the demand which the governor of Buenos Ayres made, 30th of November, 1769, for the Engliſh to quit the iſland, and no one paper relative to the claims or repreſentations made by the court of Spain, ſince the firſt ſettlement there, nor the anſwer given; and the firſt of Lord Weymouth's Letters, which was dated Septemebr 12, was marked N°. 10. Neither did the papers laid before parliament, explain in what manner the negotiation had been reſumed. The anſwer given to theſe enquiries was, that no other papers could be found. However, the ſubſequent conduct of government proved, that there were ſecret ſtipulations on the part of Great-Britain, which the miniſtry did not chooſe

* Jan. 22, 1771.

choose should meet the eye of parliament. For, though Falkland's Islands, Port Egmont, its forts, and other dependencies, were restored to the English, on the 16th September 1771, in conformity to his catholic majesty's declaration, yet in 1774, orders were sent out for evacuating the place; which was done accordingly, and no settlement has since been made there. The sudden resignation of Lord Weymouth, may be supposed to have been occasioned by his dislike of this compromise. *

The conduct of Spain, throughout this transaction, is extremely mysterious; and as our government has not thought fit to elucidate it, we are left to form conjectures merely. The consequence, naturally to be expected from such a forcible seizure of an English colony, was, an immediate rupture with Great-Britain; and, although the Spanish government had taken every possible method of defending their distant settlements from all future attacks, yet that kingdom was so unequal to a naval contest with us, and the wealth annually drawn from the new world, would be thereby

* The terms on which peace was restored have been divulged by the Count de Guines, who was then the French ambassador at the court of London; who, to exculpate himself from charges which were brought against him of having speculated in the funds, and incurred losses which he could not make good, laid open the negotiation. By his account it appears, that the islands were restored to Great Britain, on condition of their being afterwards evacuated; and to accelerate the restoration of peace between the three kingdoms, our ministry agreed, that this kingdom should be the first to disarm; confiding in the assurances of France and Spain, that they would follow her example.

thereby ſo much hazarded, that to precipitate a war, appeared to be a folly of the firſt magnitude. Againſt theſe motives for a pacific ſyſtem in Spain, may be placed the national character, haughty, vindictive and brave, which takes fire at any ſuppoſed inſult, and renounces intereſt at the call of honour. Such national propenſities to war, are not checked, but promoted, by the diſpoſition of the preſent monarch, who loves the clang of arms, although he poſſeſſes none of thoſe talents which are neceſſary to form a military prince; and his antipathy to the Engliſh is ſuppoſed to have ſubſiſted ever ſince the year 1740, when, being king of Naples, a Britiſh fleet compelled him to withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh army, and ſign a neutrality, in order to ſave his capital from deſtruction.

The cloſe connection which ſubſiſted between the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon, leaves no room to doubt, that the court of Verſailles was to have become a party in the war, had it broke out, although the kingdom of France was not in a ſituation to begin new broils. The miſconduct of Louis XVth. had been the chief cauſe of the defeats, diſgraces, and bankruptcy, which had attended the laſt war; as weak kings are frequently moſt tenacious of deſpotic rule, this monarch was fond of exerciſing every attribute of abſolute ſovereignty, and demanded from his parliament an implicit acquieſcence in his edicts. Whilſt the Engliſh nation beſieged the throne with their complaints againſt the houſe of Commons, the French were excited to a ferment, almoſt as violent, againſt their king, for his authoritative controul over the parliament; and the noble ſtand which thoſe aſſemblies made againſt the mandates of a tyrant, was admired and reſpected by the whole nation.

Nor

Nor was this the only ſource of diſcontent againſt the ſovereign: notwithſtanding the vaſt revenues of France, yet the intereſt, payable upon the debts contracted during the laſt war, together with the expences of government, and of the crown, exceeded the income, in the beginning of the year 1769, upwards of three millions and a half ſterling annually. By forced reductions of intereſt, which only an arbitrary government is able to make, but which muſt inevitably deſtroy all confidence, and deprive the ſtate of relief in future exigencies, conſiderable ſavings were made, and new impoſts on the people furniſhed ſome proviſion for this annual waſte.* Although ſuch was the exhauſted ſtate of France, yet the Duke de Choiſeul, who was prime miniſter, appeared inclined to enter on a war with Great-Britain. When Lord North was aſked, in the houſe of Commons, whether France had interpoſed or not in our diſpute with Spain, he did not chooſe to reſolve that queſtion; and as Choiſeul quitted his employments a little before the court of Spain came into the terms inſiſted upon by the Britiſh cabinet, it is highly probable, that this conceſſion was forced from it, by her ally having adopted a new ſyſtem of conduct.

The expences which Great-Britain had incurred by preparing for war, were enormous. Immediately on the meeting of parliament, forty thouſand ſeamen were voted; the charge of which, together with the ordinary of the navy, building and rebuilding ſhips, and the payment of a navy-debt, amounted to 3,082,499l. The land forces in Great-Britain, Guernſey, and Jerſey, were augmented to twenty-three thouſand four

* Price, on the debts and reſources of France.

hundred and thirty-two effective men, including two thouſand one hundred and two invalids, which, together with the extraordinary expences of the army, amounted to 1,858,779 l. The ſum of 28,365 l. was voted to the Eaſt India Company, to reimburſe them the expences incurred by the expedition againſt the Manillas; and 6009 l. to the American province of New Hampſhire, to reimburſe it the expences of proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them for the campaign of the year 1756; 1,800,000 l. in Exchequer bills was renewed; ſo that the whole amount of the ſupplies for the year 1771, was 7,158,799 l. To raiſe which, the land-tax was fixed at 4 s. in the pound, and the duties upon malt were as uſual; the third yearly payment from the Eaſt India Company, of 400,000 l. was applied, 200,000 l. was raiſed by a lottery, 691,977 l. was drawn from the ſinking fund to the 5th of April, being the ſum remaining in the Exchequer, after the anticipation of the former year had been paid off. That fund was again charged with 1,650,000 l. for the current year, and the overplus of grants for the ſervice of the preceding year, was applied to the preſent ſupply, amounting to 89,658 l. two hundred additional hackney-coaches were licenſed, for each of which 5 s. a week was to be paid. The ways and means were calculated to exceed the ſupplies 481,003 l.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, a circumſtance, in itſelf trivial, cauſed a great miſunderſtanding between the two houſes: Before the Chriſtmas receſs, the Duke of Richmond made a motion for an addreſs for quickening our preparations, and putting our valuable poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies and the Mediterranean, in a proper ſtate of defence. In his ſpeech, he expatiated on the defenceleſs

defenceleſs ſtate of Gibraltar, when he was interrupted by a propoſal being made, that the houſe ſhould be immediately cleared; this was objected to, and a great clamour enſued. Eighteen peers, diſguſted at the proceedings of the miniſterial party, quitted the houſe in a body; and ſoon after, ſeveral members of the houſe of Commons, who attended at the bar of the houſe with a bill, were, on their delivering of it, deſired to withdraw. Many of the peers who had withdrawn from the houſe of Lords, proceeded to that of the Commons, and were there, when the members, who had been excluded the upper houſe, returned to their ſeats, and repreſented the treatment they had juſt then received. A gentleman on the treaſury-bench hereupon moved, that the houſe ſhould be cleared, peers and all, which, after ſome oppoſition, was carried; ſo that thoſe very lords, who had quitted their own houſe in diſguſt, at finding themſelves unable to prevent the members of the houſe of Commons being excluded from thence, were driven from the other houſe, by the reſentment which that very excluſion had excited. Much ill blood was bred between the two houſes by this conduct. The lords ſoon after iſſued ſtrict orders, that no perſon whatever ſhould be admitted into their houſe for the future, except ſuch members of the houſe of Commons as ſhould come to preſent bills, and they alſo to depart as ſoon as they had made the uſual obediences. This miſunderſtanding continued during the remainder of the ſeſſion. A proteſt againſt this order was entered on the journals, ſigned by ſixteen peers.

The apprehenſions of foreign war being now removed, freſh internal contentions diſturbed this ſeaſon of repoſe. The houſe of Commons, in the

caſe of the Middleſex election, had, themſelves, defined their own privileges, and had maintained them in defiance of the clamour and diſcontent which the nation expreſſed againſt a power ſelf-created, till then, unknown in the latitude in which it was, in that caſe, exerciſed. The alarm which this innovation had ſpread, was at length ſo much ſubſided, that no farther commotions were to be apprehended from the eſtabliſhment of the precedent, when, all at once, the houſe was drawn into a diſgraceful conteſt, not upon a national queſtion, but with a few inconſiderable individuals, which terminated very unfavourably to the dignity of parliament.

The printers of a certain news-paper, had inſerted in thoſe publications, what they called the ſpeeches of particular members of the houſe of Commons: this preſumption, the members on whom the ſpeeches were fathered, complained of to the houſe, and the printers were ordered to attend; which order they did not think proper to comply with: the meſſengers reported, that they had not ſeen the printers; and the houſe made an order, that the leaving the ſummons at the printer's houſe, ſhould be deemed a ſufficient notice of attendance. The practice of retailing in periodical publications the ſubſtance of what was delivered in parliament, guarded however by feigned names and a ſlight tranſmutation of circumſtances, had prevailed for near forty years: and the writer, who has now riſen to the higheſt eminence, and who, on account of the magnitude of his conceptions, and great compaſs of knowledge, has been ſtyled "the Coloſſus of Literature," was one of the firſt who regularly gratified the public with the debates of the ſenate. Individuals were frequently diſpleaſed with the liberty which was taken

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with their harangues, and were ſolicitous to confine their ſentiments within the walls where they were delivered; and there are inſtances, in which the houſe of Commons, as a body, have adopted the ſentiments of ſuch members, and ordered publiſhers into cuſtody for printing their ſpeeches. In the preſent inſtance, the gentleman who lodged the complaint*, ſtated, that he had been groſsly miſrepreſented, and that the ſpeech given in the news-papers as his, had a tendency to injure him greatly in the opinion of his conſtituents. This brought on a debate upon the liberty of the preſs. It was ſaid, that miniſterial writers were publicly encouraged in the moſt flagrant abuſes of the preſs, and that while this was done in one inſtance, whereby ſome of the moſt reſpectable characters in the kingdom were mangled, without regard to ſhame or to truth, it was in vain to curb it in other caſes, or to ſay to licentiouſneſs, ſo far ſhalt thou go, but no farther; and that altho' miſrepreſentations of any member were undoubtedly infamous, yet they ought to be legally puniſhed by the perſon injured, and not by the authority of the houſe; which, however well ſupported by precedent, not being conducted by the ordinary forms of legal proceeding, had ever an odious and oppreſſive appearance. It was maintained, that except the inſtances in which the houſe of Commons is a court of judicature, to which, from the nature of their office, a coercive power muſt belong, and, excepting ſuch contempts as immediately interrupt their proceedings, they have no legal authority to impriſon a man for any ſuppoſed violation of privilege whatſoever. The privilege now claimed has never been defined or confirmed by ſtatute; neither can it be ſaid, with any colour of truth, to be a part

* Mr. George Onſlow.

a part of the common law of England, which had grown into preſcription long before we knew any thing of the exiſtence of a houſe of commons. The power of creating new privileges has been formally renounced by both houſes, and there is no code, ſay they, in which we can ſtudy the law of parliament. To eſtabliſh a claim of privilege in either houſe, and to diſtinguiſh original right from uſurpation, it muſt appear that it is indiſpenſably neceſſary for the performance of the duty they are employed in, and alſo that it has been uniformly allowed. There is no precedent, from the year 1265, to the death of Queen Elizabeth, of the houſe of Commons having impriſoned any man, not a member of their houſe, for contempt, or breach of privilege. They never took the power of puniſhing into their own hands; they either ſought redreſs by petition to the ſovereign, or applied to the houſe of Lords; and, when ſatisfaction was denied them, or delayed, their only remedy was, refuſing to proceed on the King's buſineſs.

As the ſubject of privilege, as claimed by the houſe of Commons, now became agitated, the principles of the conſtitution, particularly as they affected the rights aſſumed by the repreſentatives of the people, were enquired into, and much valuable knowledge communicated from the preſs. A writer of diſtinguiſhed abilities inſiſted, that the greateſt and moſt exceptionable parts of the privilege of parliament now contended for, were introduced and aſſerted by a houſe of Commons which aboliſhed both monarchy and peerage, and whoſe proceedings could be no ways reconciled to the forms of the conſtitution. It is a leading maxim of the laws of England, and without it all are nugatory; that there is no right without a remedy, nor any legal power without a courſe

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to carry it into effect. Let the power now in queſtion be tried by this rule. The courts of criminal juſtice are open to proſecutions, which the attorney-general may commence by information, or indictment. A libel tending to aſperſe or vilify the houſe of Commons, or any of its members, may be as ſeverely puniſhed in the court of King's-Bench, as a libel upon the King: and the houſe will conſult its real dignity much better, by appealing to the laws when they are offended, than by violating the firſt principle of natural juſtice, which forbids us to be judges, when we are parties to the cauſe.

It was however the opinion of a very great majority, that the dignity of that houſe muſt be ſupported at all events, and that the delinquents ſhould be taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant of arms, for contempt of the orders iſſued by the Speaker.

At any other time, the offenders would have been left to feel the reſentment of that power, whoſe authority they had trifled with; but it cannot be doubted, that a plan was now formed to ſhew to the world, how little able the Commons of England were, to ſupport that controling power over the ſubject, which they had aſſumed, whenever the civil magiſtracy ſhould refuſe its concurrence. Thoſe who were moſt intereſted in the deciſion upon the Middleſex election, were undoubtedly the chief inſtigators to this conteſt; and the refractory printers were imboldened in their contumacy by a junto, who aimed at diſgracing parliament. The language which theſe held was, we have nothing to apprehend from prerogative, but every thing from undue influence. Formerly it was the intereſt of the people, that the priviledges of parliament ſhould be left unlimited and undefined:

fined: at preſent, it is not only their intereſt, but neceſſary, even to the preſervation of the conſtitution, that the privileges of parliament ſhould be ſtrictly aſcertained, and confined within the narroweſt bounds the nature of their inſtitution will admit of. Upon the ſame principle that prerogative was reſiſted in the laſt century, privilege is now to be reſiſted. It is immaterial, whether the crown, by its own immediate act, impoſes new, and diſpenſes with old, laws, or whether the ſame arbitrary power, produces the ſame effects, through the medium of the houſe of Commons.

In conſequence of the orders given to the ſerjeant at arms, that officer went to the houſes of the parties, but they were conſtantly denied to him; and their ſervants even accompanied their anſwers with contemptuous ſneers, which the officer reported to the houſe; whereupon it was reſolved to addreſs the throne, praying his majeſty to iſſue his royal proclamation againſt the delinquents, and offering a reward for apprehending them; which was accordingly inſerted in the Gazette, and fifty pounds a piece offered for taking them.

Hereupon, Wheble, one of the printers mentioned in the proclamation, was apprehended, and carried before Alderman Wilkes at Guildhall, and was by him diſcharged, and bound over in a recognizance to proſecute the captor for an aſſault and falſe impriſonment; who was alſo obliged to give bail for his appearance at the next ſeſſions, to anſwer for the offence. The magiſtrate then wrote a letter to the Earl of Halifax, ſecretary of ſtate, informing him of his proceedings, and the motives which led him ſo to act. Wheble, he obſerved, was not charged with any crime in the proclamation, and without ſome crime being charged

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ed and proved, it was violating the rights of an Engliſhman, as well as the chartered privileges of the city of London, to take ſuch a man into cuſtody.

Thompſon, the other printer, was apprehended in like manner; and in like manner diſcharged by Mr. Alderman Oliver. Certificates were given by the two magiſtrates to the parties who apprehended Wheble and Thompſon, teſtifying their having brought the perſons deſcribed in the proclamation before them, whereby they might lay claim to the reward offered in the proclamation. The claimants had literally executed the buſineſs for which the reward was promiſed, in carrying the perſons deſcribed before proper magiſtrates, as was directed to be done; but the whole was evidently a mere colluſion, and utterly repugnant to the ſpirit of the proclamation. The lords of the treaſury therefore, refuſed to pay the reward for a tranſaction ſo nugatory.

The houſe of Commons ſeemed to grow more determined in its reſentment upon being thus baffled. Six other printers were named; and a motion was made, ſeconded, and agreed to, that they ſhould be proceeded againſt. Miller, the printer of the London Evening Poſt, one of the ſix, was apprehended by a meſſenger of the houſe of Commons, in his own houſe.* He immediately ſent for a conſtable, whom he charged to take the meſſenger into cuſtody, and carried him to the Manſion-houſe, before Braſs Croſby, the lord Mayor; where the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver likewiſe ſat. The deputy ſerjeant at arms attended, and demanded in the name of the Speaker, that both

* March 15, 1771.

both the meſſenger and the printer ſhould be delivered up to him; this was refuſed by the lord mayor, who aſked for what crime, and upon what authority the meſſenger had arreſted the printer; it was anſwered, that he had done it by warrant from the Speaker. It was then aſked, if that warrant had been backed by a city magiſtrate; which being anſwered in the negative, the warrant was demanded, and after much altercation produced; and its invalidity being argued by the printer's counſel, the three magiſtrates preſent diſcharged him from confinement. Miller then proceeded to lodge a complaint againſt the meſſenger for an aſſault and falſe impriſonment, and having proved the facts to the ſatisfaction of the court, the meſſenger was aſked for bail; which the ſerjeant having refuſed to comply with, a warrant for his commitment to priſon was made out, and ſigned by the lord mayor and the two aldermen; which was no ſooner executed, than the ſerjeant conſented to the giving of bail, which was admitted.

The boldneſs of this proceeding, and the open defiance which was hurled at parliamentary privileges, when claimed independent of law, aſtoniſhed the nation; whilſt the indignation of the houſe at the inſult which their officer had received, roſe to a height that ſeemed to threaten ſevere chaſtiſement to the magiſterial triumvirate. The lord mayor and Mr. Oliver, being members of the houſe, were ordered to attend in their places; and Mr. Wilkes, at the bar of the houſe. The two members accordingly attended. The lord Mayor was much indiſpoſed; he juſtified his conduct by the oath of office he had taken, and by which he was obliged to obſerve inviolable the franchiſes of the city of London. He

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farther alledged, that the city charters exempted citizens from any law-proceſs being ſerved, by any other than their own proper officers. He pleaded, that theſe chartered privileges were recognized by an act of parliament. Such being the obligations under which he was laid, as chief magiſtrate, it became his indiſpenſable duty to act in the manner he had done, and prayed to be heard by counſel; but this was not permitted, it being obſerved, that it was abſurd for counſel to be ſuffered to plead at the bar of that houſe, againſt its privileges: the rejecting this requeſt to be heard by counſel, was alſo ſupported by a precedent, drawn from the reign of Henry VIII.

The lord mayor's clerk was then ordered to attend with the book of minutes; and being ordered up to the table, a motion was made and carried, that the recognizance of Whittam the meſſenger, which was there entered, ſhould be eraſed out of the book; after which, a reſolution was paſſed, that there ſhould be no farther proceedings at law in that caſe.

Conſidering the diſpoſition which was ſhewn to diſpute the authority of the houſe of Commons, the permitting the clerk to attend with the minutes, in conſequence of an order from the Speaker, will appear to be giving up the point for which they contended, in that inſtance. Indeed, the order might have been complied with, for the purpoſe of inſnaring the houſe; on the ſuppoſition that more diſgrace would accrue from their eraſing a public record, than from reiterated contempt being ſhewn to its ſummonſes. But the true reaſon was, that the alderman who then ſat, was not diſpoſed to maintain the conteſt.

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This new kind of *noli proſequi* was ſtrongly inveighed againſt by many members. It was, they ſaid, aſſuming and exerciſing a power of the moſt dangerous nature, with which the conſtitution had not intruſted any part of the legiſlature; and that the effacing of a record, ſtopping the courſe of juſtice, and ſuſpending the law of the land, were among the heavieſt charges that could be brought againſt the moſt arbitrary deſpot.

The advocates for the privileges of the houſe maintained, that the charter of the city of London being granted by the crown, no rights, thereby conveyed, could interfere with the inherent privileges of that houſe; as the crown itſelf had no power to make ſuch grants, the privileges of the houſe of Commons being a check upon the other branches of the legiſlature; that conſequently, their cauſe was the cauſe of liberty, and of the people at large; and, if the powers of the houſe of Commons were weakened, the ſecurity of liberty would be equally ſo. It was then reſolved, that the diſcharging of Miller from the cuſtody of the meſſenger, was a breach of privilege. The members for the reſolution, two hundred and ſeventy-two againſt ninety. The houſe then reſolved, that it was a breach of privilege to apprehend the meſſenger of the houſe executing his warrant, under pretence of an aſſault; and that it was a breach of privilege, to hold the meſſenger to bail for ſuch pretended aſſault. The buſineſs, when advanced to this ſtage, had detained the houſe till one o'clock in the morning. Mr. Oliver was then aſked, what he had to urge in his defence? He replied, that he owned and gloried in the fact laid to his charge; no juſtification, he knew, could avert the puniſhment intended for him; he was conſcious of having done his duty, and was indifferent about the

conſequences;

conſequences; and as he thought it in vain to appeal to juſtice, ſo he defied the threats of power.

Hereupon it was moved, that Mr. Oliver ſhould be ſent to the Tower; which, after much warm debate, was carried by one hundred and ſeventy to fifty-eight, and he was accordingly conveyed thither at that late hour, by virtue of the Speaker's warrant. The lord mayor being, at that time, much indiſpoſed, the proceedings againſt him were deferred.

Whilſt theſe matters were depending in parliament, a court of common council wasſummoned at Guildhall, when Alderman Trecothic officiated as *locum tenens* for the lord mayor. Public thanks, in writing, were there voted to the lord mayor and the two aldermen, for having ſupported the privileges and franchiſes of the city, and defended our excellent conſtitution. A committee of four aldermen and eight commoners, was alſo appointed to aſſiſt them in making their defence, with inſtructions to employ ſuch counſel as they ſhould think proper upon this important occaſion, and powers to draw upon the chamber of London for any ſum not exceeding 500l.

Two days after the commitment of Mr. Oliver*, the lord mayor, with his committee, attended the houſe of Commons to receive his ſentence. The populace, on this occaſion, aſſembled in vaſt crowds, and many violences were committed on ſuch members of parliament as had incurred their reſentment. The whole ſtrength of the civil power was exerted on this occaſion, to repel the popular fury; and, at length, by the interpoſition and perſuaſion of ſome members of the houſe of Commons, who ſtood on the beſt terms with the people, the mob were prevailed upon to retire at a greater diſtance from Weſtminſter-hall, which they had, in a manner,

* March 27, 1771

ner, closely besieged. The military power was not called forth upon this day's tumult, altho' a large body, both of horse and foot, were in readiness, if exigencies demanded their interposition.

The house being assembled, the lord mayor said, he looked upon his case as already prejudged, and would therefore add nothing to what he had before urged in his defence. The house, however, on account of his ill state of health, were inclined to shew him some indulgence; and it was moved, that he should be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms, instead of being sent to the Tower; but the magistrate disclaimed all such lenity, and said, that whatever might be his state of health, he gloried in undergoing the same fate as his friend. The question for his commitment to the Tower was then put, and carried by two hundred and two against thirty nine. On his way thither, although it was now midnight, the populace took his horses from his coach, and drew it to Temple-bar. When arrived there, they shut the city gates, and insisted on the deputy serjeant, who accompanied the lordmayor, quitting the coach, and proceeding no farther. The lord mayor was hereupon obliged to interpose, and by assuring them that the gentlemen, who were with him, were his particular friends, and were to accompany him home, removed their apprehensions. They then proceeded to drag the carriage onwards, with shouts of applause, to the mansion-house, where the ovation ended. His lordship, as soon as the mob dispersed, proceeded privately to the Tower.

The two prisoners were soon after brought up by writ of *habeas corpus* to the court of Common Pleas, when, after a full hearing of their counsel, the judges were unanimously of opinion, that the court was not competent to judge of the conduct

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of the houſe of commons; whereupon the priſoners were remanded, and continued in their confinement until the end of the ſeſſion, receiving addreſſes of thanks and congratulations from various parts of the kingdom.

It required no uncommon ſhare of diſcernment to foretel, that the inflexibility of the city magiſtrates, would entangle the houſe of Commons in a diſpute, in which they had every thing to loſe and nothing to gain; but the diſgraces which this precipitate conduct drew after it, were not completed by the commitment of the lord mayor. The ſupporters of parliamentary edicts, were now extremely embarraſſed how to proceed againſt the other culprit, Mr. Wilkes; they had already experienced both his firmneſs and abilities, and appeared really afraid of encountering a man of his unconquerable ſpirit. Thoſe who wiſhed farther to involve the houſe, aſked, why that gentleman was allowed to triumph in his contumacy? Was he above or below the law? Was it fear or contempt that dictated ſuch a conduct? Theſe ſarcaſms occaſioned an order to be iſſued, that Mr. Wilkes ſhould attend; but inſtead of obeying the ſummons, that gentleman addreſſed a letter to the Speaker, in which he obſerved. " that in the order for his attendance, no notice was taken of his being a member of the houſe, and that he ſhould attend in his place; which circumſtance, he ſaid, according to the ſettled form, ought to have been mentioned. In the name of the freeholders of Middleſex he again demanded his ſeat in parliament, being ready to take the oaths preſcribed by law, and to give in his qualification as knight of the ſhire. When thus admitted to his ſeat, he would give the houſe an exact detail, which would neceſſarily comprehend

hend a full juſtification of his conduct, relative to the late illegal proclamation; equally injurious to the honour of the crown, and the rights of the ſubjects; and likewiſe the whole buſineſs of the printers. He had acted, he ſaid, entirely from a ſenſe of duty to the great city, whoſe franchiſes he was ſworn to maintain, and to his country, whoſe noble conſtitution he revered, and whoſe liberties, at the price of his blood, to the laſt moment of his life, he would defend and ſupport."

This letter a member preſented to the Speaker whilſt the houſe was ſitting; but the ſenſe of the houſe being taken, it was neither received nor admitted to be read. Other orders were iſſued for his attendance, to which he paid no regard. At length, a few days before the receſs at Eaſter, the houſe hit upon ſuch an expedient to get rid of this buſineſs, as fully proved the deep dilemma into which they were plunged: they iſſued an order that he ſhould attend on the eighth of April, and then adjourned to the ninth. So much had the idea of the dignity and importance of the houſe of Commons, from whence theſe proceedings originated, been loſt in the conteſt!

Such members as from the firſt had oppoſed theſe meaſures, did not fail to utter the moſt mortifying reproaches on the ignominious concluſion of this unfortunate buſineſs. They ſaid, every exertion which the houſe had made, in defence of their privileges, had only tended to lower the eſtimation in which their power was held by the world. Their commands were not obeyed, nor their puniſhments dreaded; for the people having converted them into marks of honour, they muſt be conſidered as conferring rewards. The majority in the houſe, not only felt, but acknowledged the propriety of theſe remarks; but they were de-

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ſirous of taking ſome meaſures by which theſe conſequences might be removed, and the power and privileges of the houſe of Commons eſtabliſhed on a reſpectable baſis. Accordingly a ſpecial committee was choſen by ballot, for the purpoſe of aſſerting and maintaining their dignity. The reſult of ſuch an appointment excited great expectations in the public, and nothing ſhort of expulſion and diſqualification was expected to fall on the impriſoned members, whilſt the puniſhment which awaited Mr. Wilkes was more doubtfully augured. After the committee had ſat a conſiderable time, they reported to the houſe, the various caſes which appeared upon the journals, in which that houſe had exerciſed the power of apprehenſion and impriſonment; and concluded with recommending to the houſe, that J. Miller ſhould be taken into cuſtody; which meaſure, however, the houſe did not think fit to adopt; and this long protracted and diſgraceful conteſt was finally given up. Not but many able ſpeakers laboured to bring the houſe, to exerciſe the power of which it was poſſeſſed, of expelling its refractory members; and as it was an offence committed immediately againſt that legiſlative body, they urged the greater propriety of ſuch a ſtep in this inſtance, even than in the late expulſion of Mr. Wilkes; who at that time, had not filled up the meaſure of his iniquity by adding contempt of the authority of parliament to his other crimes; but the miniſtry were unwilling to make ſo bold a uſe of the precedent which had been ſo very recently eſtabliſhed; and it appeared to many, to be extremely doubtful, whether it would be in the power of government to make head againſt the clamour and diſcontent which

ſuch a proceeding would excite; and as the leaſt of the two evils, the houſe of Commons was left to bear its diſgrace, rather than the nation ſhould be plunged into anarchy.

The news-papers, from henceforth, threw off all reſtraint, and in the courſe of the next ſeſſion, the daily proceedings of parliament were circumſtantially related in the prints of the next morning; and whether the ſentiments and expreſſions of each member, were fairly given, or groſsly perverted, depending on the capacity or humour of the writer, for the houſe no longer fulminated againſt traducers.

Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, a bill was brought in, to enable the Eaſt India Company to raiſe and ſupport a military force, for the defence and protection of their ſettlements. Thereby that body was to be empowered to raiſe two thouſand men, who were to be paid by the company, but the officers were to be appointed by the crown. This force was to be compoſed of ſix hundred German proteſtants, ſeven hundred Iriſh catholics, and ſeven hundred were to be raiſed in England. Theſe troops were to be ſubject to the military laws, during their continuance in England, and fourteen hundred of them were to be annually ſent to the Eaſt-Indies. It farther empowered the company's officers to recruit with beat of drum, in the manner practiſed by the regular troops.

Among the numerous inſtances which the preſent age produces, of the departure of governments and inferior communities, from thoſe principles upon which they were at firſt formed, the transformation of a body of merchants into ſovereigns, virtually poſſeſſing a large, rich, and po-

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pulous kingdom, is the moſt ſingular and remarkable. Fourteen years had not elapſed, ſince their principal ſettlement in Bengal, became ſubject to a barbarous enemy, and their governor, council, and chief officers, were driven, like an herd of cattle, into a noiſome dungeon, miſerably to periſh. It then hung, nicely ſuſpended in the ſcales of fate, whether the company ſhould poſſeſs a foot of land in thoſe very territories, over which, in leſs than a twelve month afterwards, they gained a controlling power.

The poſſeſſion of the territorial revenues of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, had opened ſuch inviting proſpects to ambitious and rapacious men, that the original mode of carrying on a beneficial traffic with the natives, by conciliating their good-will and confidence, was entirely loſt, in an intemperate rage for conqueſt, and eſtabliſhing the power of the ſword in violation of juſtice and humanity. The repreſentations which the company's ſervants in India, made of the ſtate of affairs there, appeared to be ſo congenial to the intereſts of the proprietary, that the revenues of the country became an object as eagerly ſought after as its manufactures: and, as grants extorted by force of arms, muſt be held by the ſame means, a continual ſupply of freſh troops from Europe was neceſſary; the climate being much more fatal to the common men, than the enemies againſt whom they were led.

The application, which the company now made to parliament, was ſupported by the weight of government. The imports of the company brought large ſums directly into the exchequer; and the Aſiatic wealth which centered in the na-

tion, greatly increaſed every branch of the public revenue in the courſe of its circulation: and what government, now ſubſiſting on earth, would ſacrifice ſuch important objects of finance, for the preſervation of public virtue and the honour of the national character?

Many weighty objections, however, were made to this bill: that it was unconſtitutional to keep an armed power in the kingdom, which was independent of parliament for its pay; that the introducing of foreign troops was contrary to the act of ſettlement; and, that it was highly dangerous to eſtabliſh ſuch a precedent. The replies made to theſe objections, were chiefly directed, to ſhew the expediency of the meaſure, in order to remove the inconveniencies which the company laboured under. It was obſerved, that a greater number of men were every year ſent off at preſent, than was provided for by this act; but many were obtained in an indirect and unwarrantable manner: ſuch were the arts practiſed by the kidnappers, and the compulſions uſed in lock-up houſes; and that it was with a view to render theſe means of recruiting unneceſſary, that the preſent plan was formed. Indeed, the idea of procuring German ſoldiers, was, after ſome time dropped; and many reſtrictions, as to the regulation of the troops, whilſt in England, were propoſed; but, after the bill had been twice read, a great majority in favour of it, having been obtained each time, it was thrown out on the third reading. The parliament roſe on the 8th of May.

The death of Lord Halifax, which happened ſoon after the riſing of parliament, occaſioned ſome alterations in the arrangement

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of the great officers of ſtate. The Earl of Suffolk ſucceeded to the ſecretaryſhip for the northern department, and the Duke of Grafton ſucceeded Lord Suffolk in the privy-ſeal.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Seamen voted—Petition of the clergy to be relieved from ſubſcribing to the thirty-nine articles——Arguments urged on both ſides—Royal marriage bill——Mr. Sullivan's bill for regulating the affairs of the Eaſt India Company—Lord Clive's defence of his conduct—Reply made—Select committee to enquire into the affairs of the company—Bill for the relief of proteſtant diſſenters—Views of the miniſter for the reduction of the national debt——Obſervations on the condition and proſpects of the nation as deſcribed by Lord North—Mr. Alderman Townſend brings the queſtion on the Middleſex election before the court of king's bench——Changes in various departments——Sudden failures in the city of London, and their conſequences.

AS little public buſineſs was likely to employ the two houſes, parliament did not meet until the 21ſt of January 1772. The ſtrength of the miniſtry was ſoon found to be increaſed by ſeveral members, who had, on former occaſions, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by oppoſing the meaſures of adminiſtration, who were now induced to change their ſentiments, and give their entire ſupport to government. A ſtate of public tranquillity imparts ſtability to a miniſter, and as it frees him from thoſe reſtraints which oppoſing ſentiments create, it yields ſcope for the exerciſe of his talents, and the application of them to the general intereſts of the ſtate.

Twenty-five thouſand ſeamen were voted for the ſervice of the current year, and although it was objected that ſo large a number in time of

peace

peace would add half a million to the public burden, it was carried without a diviſion. Sound policy dictates, that our grand national ſecurity ſhould be ever aſſiduouſly attended to, even in the moſt quiet times; but ſailors upon paper, are deſtructive means of peculation. A great reform in the guard ſhips was promiſed: the conduct with reſpect to them was declared to have been ſo ſhameful, that for many years back they had been conſidered merely as jobs; and, it was ſaid, that at the time of the late expected war, there were neither ſhips nor men fit for ſervice; but that things were now ſo much altered for the better, that twenty of the beſt ſhips in the navy were kept upon that duty, and were in ſuch complete condition, and ſo nearly manned, that a ſlight preſs would at any time enable them in a few days to proceed to ſea: that the reſt of the fleet was alſo in good condition; and that in about a year, we ſhould have near eighty ſhips of the line fit for ſervice, beſides thoſe that were upon foreign duty.

The halcyon days of peace, with which the nation was now bleſſed, afforded a favourable opportunity for introducing reformations in the ſtate, and modelling legal eſtabliſhments in conformity to the changes of times, and the fuller diſcovery of truth, which had been made through a ſucceſſion of ages. A petition was therefore preſented to the houſe of Commons,* by Sir William Meredith, ſigned by a great number of the clergy of the church of England, and members of the profeſſion of civil law and phyſic, praying relief from the ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles of faith.

This

* February 6, 1772.

This petition ſtated it be one of the great principles of the proteſtant religion, that every thing neceſſary to ſalvation, is fully and ſufficiently contained in the holy ſcriptures; that the petitioners have an inherent right, which they hold from God only, to make full and free uſe of their private judgment in the interpretation of thoſe ſcriptures; that though theſe were the liberal and original principles of the church of England, and upon which the reformation from popery was founded, they had been deviated from in the laws relative to ſubſcription; by which they are deprived of their invaluable rights and privileges, and required to acknowledge certain articles and confeſſions of faith and doctrine, drawn up by fallible men, to be all and every of them agreeable to the ſcriptures.

Such ſubſcriptions were farther repreſented, as a great hinderance to the ſpreading of true religion, as they diſcouraged free enquiries into the real ſenſe of the ſacred writings, tended to divide communions, and to cauſe mutual diſlike among fellow proteſtants. That the diverſity of opinions, held upon many of theſe articles, occaſioned great animoſity and ill-will among the eſtabliſhed clergy; that they afforded an opportunity to unbelievers to charge them with prevarication, and with being guided by intereſted and political views, in ſubſcribing to articles which they could not believe, and about which no two were agreed in opinion; and that they afforded a handle to papiſts, to reproach them with their inconſiſtency, by departing from the principles on which they had grounded their ſeparation from them, and now admitting of human ordinances, and doubtful and precarious doctrines, though they pretended

that the ſcripture alone was certain and ſufficient to ſalvation.

The two profeſſions of civil law and phyſic, complained of the hardſhips they ſuffered, at one of the univerſities particularly, where they were obliged, at their firſt admiſſion, or matriculation, and at an age ſo immature for diſquiſitions and deciſions of ſuch moment, to ſubſcribe their unfeigned aſſent to a variety of theological propoſitions, in order to be able to attain academical degrees in their reſpective faculties; and that their private opinions upon thoſe ſubjects can be of no conſequence to the public, as the courſe of their ſtudies and the attention to their practice, neither afford them the means or the leiſure, to examine into the propriety, or nature of ſuch propoſitions. They alſo lamented the misfortune of their ſons, who, at an age before the habit of reflection can be formed, or their judgment matured, may be irrecoverably bound down in points of the higheſt conſequence, to the opinions and tenets of ages leſs informed than their own.

Sir William Meredith, after having brought up the petition, ſaid, that the prayer of it was of ſuch importance, as highly merited the moſt ſerious conſideration; as grievances which affect the conſcience, are of all others the moſt grievous: that it was repugnant to that liberality of ſentiment which happily prevailed in the preſent age, to oblige people to ſubſcribe to the truth of articles which they could not believe; ſuch injunctions tended to eſtabliſh, under a religious authority, habits of prevarication and irreligion: and were productive of great licentiouſneſs in the church, and had a farther tendency to deſtroy Chriſtian charity. The removal of theſe unworthy ſhackles, he affirmed, would give a firmneſs of

ſtrength

ſtrength to the eſtabliſhed church of England, which nothing could ſhake; nor could any danger ariſe from ſuch a reformation, whilſt the hierarchy and the biſhops exiſted.

Sir Roger Newdigate was the great champion of the high church party upon this occaſion. He conſidered the petition as a prayer to put an end to the very being of the church of England, as he knew not where to find it, as a national church, he ſaid, but in its thirty-nine articles and book of common prayer. He underſtood, he ſaid, that the greater number of thoſe, who had ſigned the petition, were clergymen, who muſt therefore have ſubſcribed theſe exceptionable articles; ſo that however tender their conſciences are at preſent, they could quiet them in that inſtance. It was ſuch tender conſciences, he ſaid, that ſubverted the church of England in the laſt century; and he foretold, that ſimilar conſequences would now enſue, if the houſe granted the indulgence prayed for. The houſe, he ſaid, had no power to diſpenſe with oaths, nothing could relieve thoſe who had already ſubſcribed. He maintained, that the houſe could not receive the petition, for to comply with it, would be a direct breach of the articles of union, by which England and Scotland are now knit together. Our king, as the third part of the ſtate, is bound by oath, never to admit any alteration either in the liturgy or in the articles.

Mr. Hans Stanley ſpoke next, with much more moderation, though totally againſt the petition. He expreſſed himſelf deſirous of ſhewing all due reſpect to ſo ſerious a ſubject, but he perceived a ſort of contradiction in the petition, which rendered it an unfit ſubject of future deliberation for the houſe. Indeed, it was not entirely a new propoſition, to alter the religion of a country, it had been

been done here in the reign of Edward VI. If a change of religion takes place in the governing powers, it authorizes ſuch an alteration; but he obſerved, that there was a ſeeming contradiction in the inferior number coming to the majority to ſolicit a material alteration in religion *. He had heard it pretty generally ſaid, that it was the original intention of the ſubſcribers, to object to certain articles of the thirty-nine, and to certain parts of the litany, but not being able to agree among themſelves upon the particular parts to be expunged, they had brought the houſe, as well as themſelves, into a very embarraſſed ſituation. Theſe gentlemen apply to become members of an eccleſiaſtical community, namely, the church of England, and in the ſame breath, they deſire the foundation, on which that conſtitution is built, to be removed.

He declared himſelf as warm a friend to toleration as any one within thoſe walls, but he conſidered toleration as a relative term, ſignifying a community which had a national church, and tolerated inferior ſects. Every one ſhould certainly believe and profeſs that, which in his own mind, appears beſt and moſt acceptable to the Supreme Being: but theſe petitioners, he ſaid, ſeemed to wear the garb of private ſectaries. If they have a mind, under the ſanction of toleration, to teach what they pleaſe, allow them ſo to do, but let them not, under the garb of the church of England, teach ſuch doctrines. Such a con-

* There were about two hundred and forty names to the petition. It was reckoned that two hundred clergymen had ſigned it. The clergy of the church of England were calculated to amount to twenty thouſand, by a member of the houſe of Commons on another occaſion.

a conduct would be abſurd, if it was followed by any particular ſect, how much more ſo to be adopted by the eſtabliſhed church! No reformer, he inſiſted, whoſe name has been tranſmitted down to us with any honour and approbation, ever framed ſo wild an idea, as that of putting all religious creeds upon a level.

The firſt queſtion is, Do you believe the holy ſcriptures? The ſecond is, In what ſenſe do you underſtand them? If all the founders of religious ſyſtems, ſays he, were alive at the ſame time, I am perſuaded they would compoſe as numerous an army, as that with which Alexander ſubdued the Perſian empire, yet every one of them would derive his tenets from the ſcriptures: but the wiſdom of all countries has rather choſen to truſt to explanations, derived from the mature labour and conſideration of a venerable and pious hierarchy, than to the crude fancies and notions of every aſſuming dogmatizer, who deſires to make himſelf famous for the ſingularity of his ſentiments: on this account, ſyſtems and creeds have prevailed all over chriſtendom.

Where is the great hardſhip to perſons, who from ſcruples of their own, which they may be very much in the right to indulge, if they are ſincere, for them to take to other virtuous employments, if they cannot accept of church-preferments on the terms upon which they are now to be taken? But at the ſame time he allowed, that there might be many hard caſes; but where are the general laws, ſays he, that can guard againſt inconveniencies to individuals?

He concluded with ſaying, that he thought the peace of mankind a fortieth article, which he valued and prized as much as the whole thirty-

nine;

nine; and though there have been many diſputes about the civil adminiſtration of this country, yet reſpecting its eccleſiaſtical affairs, we have, ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, enjoyed more peace, than any other age, or any other country can boaſt; he therefore begged the houſe to conſider, how far it might be prudent to agitate this matter, and how far the corroſives of religious controverſy, thrown in, when other heats have prevailed too much, may be likely to produce fatal conſequences. It is inconſiſtent, it is dangerous, to bring ſuch a buſineſs before parliament: for though a free country may alter any law, for law is the creature of the legiſlature, and can be altered, yet there are laws ſo fundamental, that they cannot be altered without ſhaking the baſis of the ſtate.

Mr. Wedderburne (ſolicitor-general) was alſo of opinion, that to ſubſcribe a belief of ſome certain articles of faith, was neceſſary for the clergy in any eſtabliſhment; the church of Geneva, one of the moſt liberal eſtabliſhments in Europe, he ſaid, impoſed ſuch forms on their clergy: the objection to granting the petition, becauſe it would violate the act of union, he however ſhewed to be ill founded, as it had been in ſuch a ſenſe violated both with reſpect to England and to Scotland, the legiſlature having exerted a power of altering church-government ſince the union, by the act againſt occaſional conformity in England; and that which deſtroyed elective patronages in Scotland, by the latter of which the people at large were deprived of the right of electing their paſtors.

It was obſerved by Mr. Burke, that the church of England ſubſiſted before the thirty-nine articles were framed, and conſequently the thirty-

nine

nine articles could not be eſſential to the exiſtence of the church of England: the articles of the church at firſt conſiſted of forty-two, why then might they not be farther reduced, as good ſenſe and liberal ſentiments gained ground? But what, ſays he, are we to underſtand by the holy ſcriptures, which theſe gentlemen deſire to make a profeſſion of their belief in? This appears to be a very indeterminate idea. The Romiſh canon admits of the books of the apocrypha; the canon of Luther excludes ſome parts of the pentateuch, and the whole epiſtle to the Hebrews; and ſome ancient fathers have rejected the book of Revelation. Mankind are as little likely to be of one mind on this point, as on any other.

Sir George Saville obſerved, that we, proteſtants, derive that appellation from the firſt adherents to thoſe principles which we profeſs, having proteſted againſt forms preſcribed by human authority? And ſhall we maintain the neceſſity of preſcribing modes of faith, when our principles reject the idea of any ſuch power belonging to human beings?

Mr. Thomas Pitt repreſented the hard caſe of the clergy, compelled by the conſtitution to give a formal aſſent to points of faith which they cannot poſſibly believe; and aſked, what would that houſe, or any honeſt man ſay, if a judge, who by his oath is bound to adminiſter juſtice conformably to the law of the land, ſhould be obliged at the ſame time to interpret that law, plainly contrary to its true ſpirit and meaning?

The houſe in general ſeemed to be of opinion, that the profeſſors of law and phyſic being bound in matter of ſubſcription, was of ſmall concernment to the public; but it was expreſſed as a wiſh on all ſides of the houſe, that the univerſities

would

would grant them relief in that reſpect, as well as to young ſtudents at the time of matriculation.

Lord George Germain inſiſted on the latter being a heavy grievance; for a youth at college to be required to ſign his aſſent to, or belief of the thirty-nine articles, earlier than the age of ſixteen, when it was not to be ſuppoſed that he could underſtand them, or had formed any ſentiments about them, and a conſiderable time before the meaning of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy was thought likely to be intelligible, and conſequently were not adminiſtered. He informed the houſe, that the univerſity of Cambridge had been applied to for a repeal of this ſtatute, the practice being founded on a by-law of their community, might be laid aſide at pleaſure: but notwithſtanding the power being veſted in them, they evaded compliance with the requeſt, pleading, that, as a ſtanding rule, they ought not to diſpenſe with it.

The ſame ſpeaker undertook to defend the character of the petitioners from the imputation which had been thrown out againſt them, that they renounced their principles, when, by ſubſcribing the articles they accepted of church benefices. He ſaid he lived in a county, where many of the neighbouring clergy had ſigned the petition, whom he knew to be worthy, conſcientious, and pious men; many had aſſented to the articles with that forced conſtruction which was put upon them, by thoſe who could not believe the truth of ſome of them. The ſentiments which many entertained at the time when they gave their aſſent to thoſe articles, had been by farther reflection changed, and their conſcientious ſcruples being awakened by ſuch a different view of things, rendered the ſtep they were now taking highly

laudable,

laudable, and acquitted them of all imputation of diſſimulation in their former conformity.

Mr. Soame Jenyns, in behalf of the univerſity of Cambridge, ſaid, that the practice of enjoining a ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles, being founded on a royal ſtatute, ordained at the inſtance of king James I. the univerſity did not conſider itſelf at liberty to annul it.

Towards the cloſe of the debate, Lord North delivered his ſentiments on the queſtion: he ſaid, when he came down to the houſe, he hoped to have ſeen nothing in the petition to prevent him from recommending that it ſhould be laid upon the table, meaning to oppoſe every attempt to go farther. Hereby deſigning to pay a compliment to the petitioners, out of reſpect to the principle upon which the petition was grounded, and then to move that the farther conſideration of it might be put off for ſix months; but in the courſe of the debate, he ſaid, a ſtronger objection had ariſen in his mind againſt bringing it up, and which outweighed every reſpect which he wiſhed to have paid to the importance of the ſubject, for he thought it repugnant to the act of union, and if ſuch indulgences ſhould be granted, there would after that time, be nothing that could exclude a man out of the church of England, but popery; and he was convinced that, to make any innovations in the forms now preſcribed to the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, would occaſion ſuch contentions in the nation, that not poppy nor mandragora could ever medicine it to its former repoſe.

Mr. Dunning replied to this, that he never knew till then, that it was a principle of ſound policy to narrow the means of acceſs to emoluments; and he had always thought, that every

good

good ſubject ought to be conſidered as entitled to proportional chance for obtaining poſts of profit and honour. In the courſe of the debate, he ſaid, he had remarked, that the ſame premiſes had led different members to very oppoſite concluſions: one member obſerved, that our reformation from popery was effected by the ſpirit which this petition was deſigned to promote; and another member aſſerted, that the granting this petition, had a direct tendency to bring us back to popery. He could not foreſee that the quiet of the nation would be endangered by granting the prayer of the petition; but if the repoſe now enjoyed, partook at all of that torpid ſtate of inſenſibility, which his lordſhip's mandragora had diffuſed through that houſe, he ſhould wiſh to ſee it broke in upon as ſoon as poſſible; for it was an alarming ſymptom, which, inſtead of betokening health, was the forerunner of deſtruction.

The debates were continued till after midnight, when, on a diviſion, there appeared for receiving the petition 71, againſt receiving it 217. The petitioners by aiming at too much loſt everything: had nothing farther been aſked than an exemption from ſubſcription to ſome certain of the articles, ſuch requeſt might probably have been attended to. The importance of this diſcuſſion, has led us to be circumſtantial in the relation of it. The debates are given from minutes which were taken in the houſe at the time, and were never before printed.

The marriages of the two royal brothers, which had taken place during the ſummer *,

* The Duke of Cumberland married Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, daughter to Lord Irnham; and the Duke of Glouceſter

occaſioned meſſages to be delivered from his majeſty to both houſes of parliament †, in which he obſerved, that " being deſirous, from paternal affection to his own family, and anxious concern for the future welfare of the people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family (which ever has belonged to the kings of this realm as a matter of public concern) may be effectual, recommends to both houſes, to take into their ſerious conſideration, whether it may not be wiſe and expedient, to ſupply the defects of the laws now in being; and by ſome new proviſion, more effectually to guard the deſcendants of his late majeſty, other than the iſſue of princeſſes who have married, or may hereafter marry into foreign families, from marrying without the approbation of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, firſt had and obtained.

In compliance with this meſſage, a bill was brought into the houſe of Lords, which diſcovered the fulleſt diſpoſition in that houſe, to gratify every wiſh of his majeſty in that reſpect. It acknowledged the legality of the powers claimed by the crown in the meſſage, and enacted that all marriages entered into by any deſcendants of king George II. except only ſuch as were particularly excepted in the meſſage, without the previous conſent of the king or his ſucceſſors on the throne, ſignified under the great ſeal, and declared in council, ſhould be null and void. But

Glouceſter had ſome time before been privately married to the Counteſs Dowager of Waldegrave, but that alliance was not then acknowledged, although generally underſtood.

† February 20, 1772.

But if ſuch deſcendants having attained the age of twenty-five years, ſhall perſiſt in his or her reſolution to contract a marriage, diſapproved of by the reigning prince; then, upon giving the privy-council, twelve months previous notice of their deſign, they may, after the expiration of that term, enter into marriage with the perſon before propoſed and rejected, without the royal conſent; unleſs both houſes of parliament ſhall within that time, expreſsly declare their diſapprobation of it; and whoever ſhall knowingly ſolemnize a marriage by this act forbidden, or aſſiſt at the celebration of ſuch unlawful marriage, or any ſuch matrimonial contract, on being duly convicted thereof, are declared to incur the pains and penalties ordained in the ſtatute of proviſion and præmunire, made in the ſixteenth year of the reign of Richard II.

The judges having been conſulted when the buſineſs was firſt brought into the houſe, declared it to be their opinion, that the care and approbation of the marriages of the children and grand-children of the king, and the preſumptive heir to the crown (other than the iſſue of foreign families) do belong to the kings of this realm; but to what other branch of the royal family ſuch care and approbation do extend, they do not find preciſely determined.

This bill met with great oppoſition in both houſes: but notwithſtanding every clauſe was ſtrongly objected to, and a diviſion of the houſe was called for on every part, yet it was carried through the houſe of Lords in leſs than a fortnight; the numbers for the bill being ninety, againſt it twenty-ſix. It produced however, two proteſts, one of which was ſigned by fourteen peers. The bill was therein reprobated for the

following reaſons. The maxim laid down in the preamble, that becauſe marriages of the royal family are of the higheſt importance to the ſtate, they are therefore entruſted to the kings of this realm, is founded on a doctrine abſurd and unconſtitutional, but which hereafter will have the force of a parliamentary declaration of law, the immediate tendency of which is to create as many prerogatives in the crown, as there are matters of importance in the ſtate; and indeed, to extend them in a manner as vague and exceptionable, as had ever been done in the worſt and moſt deſpotic period in the hiſtory of this nation: and they apprehended that ſome future, and even more dangerous uſe may be made of this preamble, as it is much more extenſive than is neceſſary for any purpoſe avowed in the bill: and this declaratory preamble is uſed, notwithſtanding nine of the judges, in their unanimous opinion, delivered to the houſe of Lords, do not find any authority in ſupport of the prerogative, in that extent in which it is aſſumed. The deſcendants of George II. in courſe of time may become very numerous, and it is conceived to be an intolerable grievance, that the marriage of ſo many ſubjects, perhaps diſperſed among the various ranks of civil life, ſhould be ſubject to the reſtrictions of this act; the extenſive powers of which, may, in time, render the firſt families in the kingdom totally dependent on the crown. The age of twenty-one years appears to be the limit which the laws of this country, and the ſpirit of the conſtitution, have, with great wiſdom, given to minority. It ſeems indecent to the royal family to ſuppoſe, they will not arrive at the age of diſcretion as ſoon as the loweſt ſubject of the realm; and why may they not be

as

as capable of chooſing a wife at the age of twenty-one years, as of being entruſted with the regency of the kingdom, of which by the law they are at that age capable? Beſides, the deferring their age of minority as to marriage till twenty-ſix, is impolitic and dangerous, as it may tend to drive them into a diſorderly courſe of life, which ought the more to be guarded againſt in men of high rank, as the influence of their example is the moſt forcible and extenſive.

The right of conferring a diſcretionary power of prohibiting all marriages, was aſſerted in the ſame proteſt to be above the reach of any legiſlature; becauſe, contrary to the original inherent rights of human nature; which, as they are not derived from, or held under civil laws, by no civil laws whatever can be taken away; for though the legiſlature has a power of preſcribing rules to marriage, as well as to every other ſpecies of contract, yet there is an eſſential difference between regulating the mode in which a right may be enjoyed, and eſtabliſhing a principle which may tend entirely to annihilate that right. To diſable a man during his whole life from contracting marriage, or what is tantamount, to make his power of contracting ſuch marriage dependent neither on his own choice, nor upon any fixed rule of law, but on the arbitrary will of any man, or ſet of men, is exceeding the power permitted by the divine providence to human legiſlatures: it is directly againſt the earlieſt command, given by God to mankind, contrary to the right of domeſtic ſociety and comfort, and to the deſire of lawful poſterity; the firſt and beſt of the inſtincts planted in us by the Author of our nature, and utterly incompatible with all religion,

ligion, natural and revealed; and therefore a mere act of power, having neither the nature nor obligation of law. It concluded with saying, "we cannot therefore, on the whole, avoid expreſſing our ſtrong diſapprobation of an act, which ſhakes ſo many of the foundations of law, religion, and public ſecurity, for ends wholly diſproportioned to ſuch extraordinary efforts, and in favour of regulations ſo ill calculated to anſwer the purpoſes for which they are made; and we make this proteſt, that it may ſtand recorded to that poſterity, which may ſuffer from the miſchievous conſequences of this act, that we have no part in the confuſions and calamities brought upon them."

Another proteſt, which chiefly objected to the bill as a violation of the natural rights of mankind, and contrary to every principle of religion and humanity, was ſigned by ſix other peers *.

The oppoſition to the bill was yet ſtronger in the houſe of Commons. The preamble to the act was much objected to, as acknowledging and confirming the prerogative of the crown aſſerted in the meſſage. A motion was made to omit that declaratory clauſe, when, after a very long debate, the motion was rejected by a majority of thirty-ſix only, when the houſe conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty-four members.

A motion was then made to inſert a clauſe, "that the act ſhould continue in force during the reign of his preſent majeſty, and three years after his demiſe, but no longer," but it was rejected, by a majority of eighteen only. Sir Joſeph Mawby

* Viz. Temple, Radnor, Clifton, Lyttelton, Abingdon, and Craven.

Mawby remarked, that the title of the bill was not ſufficiently expreſſive; to remedy which, he propoſed that it ſhould run, "An act" for enlarging and extending the prerogatives of the crown, and for the encouragement of adultery and fornication, under pretence of "regulating the marriages of the royal family."

The bill continued for three weeks to engage the attention of the houſe, but was then paſſed without any material alteration, by a majority of fifty.†

Mr. Sullivan, deputy chairman of the Eaſt India Company, made a motion in the houſe of Commons, March 30, for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the company's ſervants and concerns in India; the object of which bill, was, to eſtabliſh a great variety of new and important regulations in thoſe remote territories. It aimed at reſtraining the governor and council of Bengal from all concerns in trade, and went entirely to change the court of judicature, and the manner of adminiſtering juſtice there, and gave the court of directors a fuller control over their ſervants. This drew from Lord Clive a long and laboured defence of his conduct, during his laſt expedition to India. He declared, that the ſole motive which led him to expoſe his feeble conſtitution, broken as it was, in the ſervice of the company, to the ſultry climate of Hindoſtan, and to the fatigues and dangers of war, was, a deſire of doing eſſential ſervice to the company, under whoſe auſpices he had acquired his fortune and his fame. That, inſtead of increaſing his fortune, he was ſeveral thouſands poorer thereby. He had been charged with eſtabliſhing a moſt deſtructive

† March 24. One hundred and ſixty-five to one hundred and fifteen.

ſtructive monopoly of ſalt, beetle-net, tobacco, and other commodities in Bengal, which was a principal cauſe of a dreadful famine and ſickneſs which prevailed there, and ſwept away ſome millions of the inhabitants. In ſpeaking to this charge, he confined himſelf to the duties laid upon ſalt; which according to the population which he reckoned to be in the country, and the proportion each individual paid towards the tax, furniſhed data to calculate the yearly produce, which appears to have been the enormous ſum of 437,500 l. ſterling. The reaſon he aſſigned for theſe impoſts was, that the company's ſervants might receive an equivalent for the deductions made from their incomes, by the directors having abſolutely forbidden the receiving of preſents, and being deprived of a lucrative trade in ſalt. He acknowledged to have received 5-56th ſhares, which yielded him 32,000 l. which ſum he diſtributed among his ſecretary, ſurgeon, and another gentleman, together with 5000 l. more. The eſtabliſhing of a new gold currency in Bengal, during his lordſhip's preſidency, had been repreſented as a meaſure calculated to enrich thoſe concerned, to the great loſs and injury of the province, as well as of the company. He exculpated himſelf, by ſaying, that he knew nothing of the mixture of metals, and ſolemnly declared that he reaped not a ſhilling profit by the coinage. He charged the directors very roundly with having, either through obſtinacy or ignorance, deranged and fruſtrated the beſt concerted plans of regulation in Bengal. He attributed the unlooked for embarraſſments of the company's affairs to four cauſes; a negligence in adminiſtration; the miſconduct of the directors; the outrageous behaviour of general courts; and the diſobedience of the company's ſervants in the

East Indies. When the business of the company came before parliament some years before, the object, he said, was not to secure so beneficial a trade, and so great an empire, for a perpetuity, but to make an immediate dividend of 400,000 l. to the public, and 200,000 l. to the proprietary. The directors suddenly stopped prosecutions, restored the suspended, and undid every thing that had been done; and yet, by the bill which was then moved for, they were willing to disable themselves from ever withdrawing prosecutions for the future. They had erred likewise in being so eager to secure their annual election: the first half of the year, he said, has been consumed in freeing themselves from the obligations contracted by their last election, and the second half has been wasted in incurring new obligations, and forming an interest among the proprietors; but in spite of all these manœuvres, the direction has been so fluctuating and unsettled, that fresh and contradictory orders have been sent out with every fleet: had they been less fickle and absurd, their concerns would have been much more consistently and uniformly managed. The malversation of their servants may justly be charged upon the fluctuation of their own councils: had they not concurred in restoring suspended and persecuted men, the governor and council would never have deliberated whether they should obey or not, the orders of the direction. Fundamental principles being thus overturned, the whole system tumbles to the ground.

His lordship stated, that the clear net revenue of Bengal, for 1771, amounted to no more than 171,000 l. whilst the claim of government was 400,000 l. During his presidency, the largest net sum was brought into the treasury. The expences of the military establishment, as it is called,

since

ſince that period, has gradually encreaſed, until it roſe to the preſent enormous ſum of 1,800,000 l. per annum. The company's ſervants having found out the way of making fortunes by charging exorbitantly in all contracts for furniſhing of troops, with proviſions and other neceſſaries. Hence the revenue falls ſhort, though the ſum levied amounts to little leſs than four millions. The temptations to amaſs wealth, by indirect means, he ſaid, were ſo great, that fleſh and blood could not withſtand them. He concluded with obſerving, that Bengal was the brighteſt jewel in the Britiſh crown.

Governor Johnſon replied to Lord Clive's defence, in which he very ably arraigned his lordſhip's conduct, expoſed the flimſineſs and futility of the arguments brought in defence of it. He ſtated, that the higheſt duties that ever were collected on ſalt in Bengal, were 72,000 l. a year; the general medium was 40,000 l. The whole had been farmed for 32,000 l. a year. The company, he inſinuated, loſt 300,000 l. in the progreſs of the frauds, as he called them, in the coinage. He did not mean, he ſaid, to impeach his lordſhip's veracity, but he always underſtood, that the preſident had a certain per centage on all coinage; no doubt, as his lordſhip had ſaid it, he made no profit of the great opportunity that occurred, but that he left that likewiſe to his friends; yet he could hardly admit, after ſuch recent inſtances of his abilities, that he was ſo entirely ignorant of the mixture of metals, as his modeſty would incline the houſe to believe. Do not all men know, continued he, that the purity of coin is a principal conſideration in government, and that it is of the moſt dangerous conſequence to tamper with it by any fraudulent mixtures? He aſked, if his lordſhip could deny, that the money was coined with thirty per cent. alloy? He objected

ed to the bill before the houſe, and ſaid, the Britiſh legiſlature ſhould not move in the affairs of Aſia, unleſs it acted with dignity and effect.

The bill was read a ſecond time, and then laid by. The ſeaſon was too far advanced for a buſineſs of that magnitude, and ſo complicated in its nature, to be properly diſcuſſed. A ſenſible and well-informed writer, ſays, it ſeems pretty evident, that adminiſtration had no ſerious intention of entering deeply into that matter for the preſent; and that the ſubſequent movements during the remainder of the ſeſſion, were only intended to keep it alive, and to make, or find, ſome openings for that great revolution which it has ſince eſtabliſhed in the affairs of the company. It was perhaps farther neceſſary, that this buſineſs ſhould be ſo far entered into, as that the company ſhould continue entangled in the hands of the parliament during the receſs.* However, this may be, it is more than probable, that no part of this plan was underſtood by the gentlemen who were the immediate actors in bringing the affairs of the company under conſideration, and that they were actuated by very different motives.

So much light had been thrown on the tranſactions in India, and the conduct of the Eaſt India Company's ſervants there, that the expediency of ſetting on foot a ſtrict enquiry into the abuſes of power which had been long practiſed with impunity, was very evident, as well as, that ſome ſalutary and effectual regulations ſhould be adopted for the future prevention of thoſe evils. Many were led to infer, from the facts which had come out, how unequal a company of merchants were to the ſuperintendence of ſuch vaſt concerns of a civil

* Annual Regiſter for 1772.

civil nature, in which the lives and fortunes of millions of people were involved; and that the government of ſuch opulent and extenſive dominions, ſhould be ſubordinate to the ſuperintendence and control of the ſtate.

At length,* a ſelect committee, conſiſting of thirty-one members, † was choſen by ballot, to enquire into the nature and ſtate of the Eaſt India Company, and the affairs in the Eaſt Indies. The objects of their enquiries were ſo various and extenſive, that before the riſing of parliament, they applied for leave to ſit during the receſs.

Whilſt Mr. Sullivan's bill was before the houſe, a motion was made by Sir Harry Haughton, § for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of proteſtant diſſenters, with reſpect to ſubſcription to articles of faith. This attempt to gain an exemption from human impoſitions in matters of belief, was ſuggeſted by the favourable diſpoſition which many members of the houſe of Commons ſhewed, in the courſe of the debates on the clerical petition, to diſſenting miniſters, who were compellable by law, under many penalties, to ſubſcribe to the doctrinal articles of a church to which they did not belong, and from which they could derive no advantages either in promotion or emolument.

By

* April 13.

† The following gentlemen compoſed this committee: Col. Burgoyne, Chairman; Sir William Meredith, Sir George Savile, Lord George Germain, Mr. Roſs Fuller, Mr. F. Vane, Col. Barré, Mr. Solicitor General, Lord Howe, Mr. R. Sutton, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Mr. Welbore Ellis, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. George Rice, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. C. J. Fox, Mr. Cornewall, Lord Folkſtone, Gen Conway, Mr. Hotham, Mr. H. Ongley, Mr. G. Johnſtone, Mr. Alderman Trecothick, Mr. Edward Bacon, Mr. A. Curzon, Sir John Turner, Capt. Phipps, Mr. Gregory, Lord Clive, Mr. Strachey.

§ April 3.

By the act of toleration, which was paſſed immediately after the revolution, the free exerciſe of religious worſhip, was allowed to ſuch proteſtants as diſſented from the eſtabliſhment of the church of England; and their principles were allowed to be taught in private ſchools, on condition that ſuch miniſters and ſchoolmaſters ſubſcribed before a juſtice of peace to the doctrinal parts of the thirty-nine articles; a non-compliance with which expoſed them to heavy pains and penalties, if they officiated either as paſtors or tutors. So that in fact, the liberty hereby granted, reached only to ſuch as adhered to the doctrines taught by Calvin, and who were, on that account, called Calviniſts, which was almoſt the univerſal perſuaſion at that time; but in the courſe of almoſt a century, great changes have taken place in the ſentiments of proteſtants of all denominations; and as the principles of diſſenters allow a greater latitude of opinion, and lead them more directly to free enquiries into the doctrines derived from ſcripture, ſuch changes of ſentiment were more likely to ſpread among them, than in the eſtabliſhed church, whoſe tenets carry with them a preſcriptive right to our aſſent. It is true the penalties enacted againſt ſuch diſſenters as did not ſubſcribe in the manner enjoined, were not inflicted; but the ſame candor and moderation which ſuffered them to become obſolete, dictated their total repeal. The bill was carried through the houſe of Commons by a great majority, but upon a ſecond reading in the houſe of Lords, it was thrown out by 102 lords, including proxies, to 29.

On the firſt of May Lord North entered on the buſineſs of ways and means, for raiſing the ſupplies for the ſervices, which had been voted early in the ſeſſion, by opening his budget. The grants which had been made were calculated to amount to 5,886,253 l. and a million and a half 3 per cent. conſolidated Bank annuities and South Sea annuities, were paid off at 90 l. with a douceur of four lottery-tickets, at 12 l. 10 s. each for every aundred pound ſtock ſubſcribed. The land-tax was brought back to 3 s. in the pound; Exchequer bills were continued to the uſual amount; the Eaſt India Company's annual payment was brought in aid, and the produce of the ſinking-fund was anticipated from the 5th of April, 1772, in the ſum of 1,856,723 l. *

His

* The curious reader may perhaps wiſh to ſee a more particular account of the buſineſs of finances for the year 1772, it therefore follows.

		£.
25,000 Seamen —	1,300,000	
Building and rebuilding ſhips, and ordinary of the Navy	770,664	
Total charge of the Navy		2,070,664
17,547 effective men, including 1522 invalids, for guards, and other his Majeſty's land forces in Great Britain, Jerſey and Guernſey, and for the forces in all parts of his Majeſty's dominions.	1,525,378	
The extraordinaries of the Army,	274,432	
		1,799,810
Exchequer Bills paid off —		1,800,000
To the Britiſh Muſeum, and for the purchaſe of Etruſcan, Greek and Roman antiquities, brought from Italy by Sir William Hamilton, K. B. and to enable the Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum to provide a proper repoſitory for their reception.		11,250

His lordſhip on this occaſion ſpoke with great exultation of the ſtate of the kingdom, and the

	£.
For the more effectually proſecuting diſcoveries towards the South Pole	4,000
To make good the deficiency of the fund for paying annuities, in reſpect to five millions borrowed in 1758	42,445
To the Turkey Company	5,000
To reimburſe his Majeſty certain ſums iſſued in purſuance of addreſſes from the houſe of Commons	6,580
To make good the deficiency of grants for the ſervice of the year 1771	39,456
[An exceſs of 481,003 l. appeared on laſt year's eſtimate.]	
To pay off one million and a half 3 per cent. annuities, at 90 l. per 100 l. ſtock	1,350,000
For the diſcovery of an eaſy and practicable method of making ſea-water freſh and wholeſome	5,000

The remainder of the ſupplies was allotted to the maintenance of the civil government in the Colonies and Plantations; ſurveys in North America; the expences of forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa; new roads and bridges in Scotland; indemnities to particular perſons, and other matters.

The ways and means to anſwer theſe grants, were,

Land Tax	1,500,000
Malt Tax	750,000
Balance from the ſinking fund to January 5, 1772, after defraying laſt year's debt	191,608
New Exchequer bills iſſued	1,800,000
Annual payment from the Eaſt India Company	400,000
Produce of the ſinking fund for the quarter, ending April 5, 1772	805,398
Profit on a Lottery	150,000
Charged on the ſinking fund	1,856,723

A variety of the reſidues and ſavings from different funds were appropriated to the current ſervice of the year.

[The exceſs of the proviſions was eſtimated at 536,339 l.]

happy

happy proſpect which preſented itſelf of a long continuance of peace; the probability of that happy event, he ſaid, was greater than he had known it in his time; and ſhould it continue for ten years, the expectation of which was no ways chimerical, ſeventeen millions of the national debt might be diſcharged, by purſuing the plan which had then been laid before the houſe. The diminution of the annual intereſt payable on the national debt, ariſing from theſe regulations in the finances, would raiſe the income of the ſinking fund, ſo as that, in conjunction with the ordinary taxes upon land, malt, and ſo forth, to make the yearly revenue amount to ſeven millions. If, when arrived at that point, the nation ſhould be forced into a war, it is not likely to coſt ſuch enormous ſums, as when we ſtood ſingle againſt France and Spain, and at the ſame time protected two ſovereigns. If, ſaid his lordſhip, we embark no farther in expences, than we did in wars preceding the laſt, our yearly diſburſements, would, he had computed, be, at an average, about ſeven millions; ſo that we ſhall be enabled to maintain ſuch a war without any additional taxes. We do not, ſaid he, ſtand in need of any conqueſts; our dominions are at leaſt as extenſive as we could wiſh; and their improvement, not their extenſion, ſhould be our chief aim. This opens to us a proſpect at leaſt, of gradually reducing the national debt, a ſtep, which will neceſſarily raiſe our credit and conſequence in Europe, and terrify our enemies into pacific meaſures.

With this flattering picture, the houſe in general were extremely well pleaſed. In a time of profound peace, the national debt engages no one's attention, but a few ſpeculating politicians, who

who look farther than the preſent moment. No ſtockholder wiſhes to receive his principal, but upon ſuch terms of advantage, as that he may replace his money in the public funds at ſeveral per cent. profit. The terms on which this redemption was made, were lucrative beyond example; and the miniſter did not labour to conceal his opinion, that ſome perſons might be more fortunate than others in an early ſubſcription, but no one could ſet his name for more than 10,000 l. ſtock.

The houſe ſeemed wrapt in the contemplation of the permanent proſperity of the nation, and although nothing more exceptionable than the general doctrine laid down, was ever delivered by a firſt lord of the treaſury, yet the objections ſtarted, were confined to the mode of diſcharging the million and a half. Beſides the unneceſſary profit which was allowed the ſtock-holder, the blending indiſcriminately two ſtocks which ſtatedly and invariably preſerved a difference of two per cent. in their market price, was cenſured as highly injudicious*. It was obſerved, that it was a maxim with adminiſtration to encreaſe our expences according to the increaſe of our income. The miniſter was aſked, if he would not, in the courſe of ten years, talk of new eſtabliſhments, or payment of civil liſt arrears?

It is worthy of a remark, on what ſlight foundation the ſalutary effects of a ten years peace were built. The revenue, during the preceding year, had not encreaſed, but had rather fallen off; the condition of the Eaſt India Company, which the

* Conſolidated Bank annuities, at that time were at 88 5-8ths, South Sea old annuities at 86 5-8ths.

houſe was in poſſeſſion of only a week or two before this mighty vaunt was made, afforded the ſtrongeſt reaſons for apprehending that they were in no condition to make their ſtipulated annual payment in future; and without it, although the land-tax ſeemed fixed, in perpetuity, at three ſhillings in the pound during peace, a rate unprecedented in former times, the ordinary revenue would be quite inadequate to the objects propoſed.

But ſuppoſing a coincidence of fortunate events to realize the calculations of the miniſter, and we ſhould not have been forced into a war, until the yearly revenue amounted to ſeven millions; with what ſhadow of reaſon could even ſuch an income be ſuppoſed equal to the expences which would then be incurred? At the commencement of the war which King William waged with Louis XIV. the charges were defrayed by ſupplies raiſed and paid within the year; all the loans were ſuppoſed to be temporary, and to end with the collection. Too ſoon however, the pernicious mode of borrowing on the credit of the ſupplies was introduced, which created oppoſite intereſts between the governors and the governed, and a debt of thirteen millions was incurred during that reign. In the next, the national debt was increaſed twenty-ſix millions more, in conſequence of a war which continued twelve years. Notwithſtanding almoſt univerſal peace prevailed for the twenty-ſeven years which followed the treaty of Utrecht, yet the national debt had, in that ſpace of time, increaſed ſix millions; and during three years war with Spain ſingly, and five years war with Spain and France united, thirty two millions were added to the national incumbrance. So that the

wars

wars waged by King William and Queen Anne, may be ſaid to have been maintained at the expence of about two millions per annum, and the firſt war in the reign of George IId, at four millions per annum; and according to the progreſſive increaſe of expences in every department, ſince committees of enquiry and accounts have been over-ruled, ſimilar exertions could not be renewed at a leſs charge to the nation than five millions per annum; how then would a revenue of ſeven millions be adequate to the carrying on a war, when more than four millions is ſwallowed up every year in a peace eſtabliſhment?

The ſeſſion of parliament was cloſed on the 9th of June, by a ſpeech from the throne.

The diſpute concerning the Middleſex election had now ſubſided, except that Sir Geo. Savile every ſeſſion, made, what he called his annual proteſt againſt the deciſion of the houſe on that buſineſs, which paſſed without much debate; however, it was now revived, by being inveſtigated in a new mode.

A cauſe was tried before Lord Mansfield at Weſtminſter-hall *, upon an action brought by Mr. Alderman Townſend againſt the collector of the land-tax, for diſtraining a large quantity of hay, belonging to Mr. Townſend, upon his refuſing to pay the aſſeſſment of the land-tax, he not being fully repreſented in parliament, and conſequently he conſidered the tax as an illegal impoſition. After the matter of Mr. Wilkes's different expulſions, rejections, and

 final

* June 9.

final incapacitation had been ſtated to the jury by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, and the houſe of Commons ſeating Mr. Luttrell, although he had the feweſt votes, the Serjeant told them, if they coincided in opinion with him, that the county of Middleſex was not fully and fairly repreſented, they would find for the plaintiff; but if they thought the preſent houſe of commons had authority to impoſe ſuch a tax, then the defendant was juſtified. He then produced the evidence of the poll books, the ſheriffs return, &c. to prove that Mr. Wilkes was the legal repreſentative for the county of Middleſex. The attorney-general who was retained for the defendant, did not appear. Mr. Wallace, who was alſo retained, made no other reply than by producing the act of parliament, under the authority of which the collector had acted. Lord Mansfield then told the jury, that the queſtion before them was, in fact, no other than, whether there was at that time any legiſlative power in this country? If they acknowledged there was, then they muſt find for the defendant; and that as to the evidence offered to be produced by the Serjeant, it was his opinion, that it was not by law competent, and was inadmiſſible. The jury, with little or no heſitation, found for the defendant. Mr. Townſend, who was preſent in court, then declared that the affair ſhould there end.

On the fourth of Auguſt, Lord Hillſborough reſigned his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate for the American Colonies, as well as that of firſt lord of trade, and was ſucceeded in both by the Earl

Earl of Dartmouth. Soon after his retiring from theſe offices, he was advanced to the rank of an Earl of Great-Britain. Lord Dartmouth, in parliament, had voted for the repeal of the ſtamp-act, and ſince that event, had always oppoſed the taxation of America. From the advancement of this nobleman therefore, it was concluded, that a new ſyſtem of government would take place with reſpect to the Colonies. The Earl of Harcourt ſucceeded Lord Townſhend in the lieutenancy of Ireland, when the latter was appointed maſter-general of the Ordnance; on the death of the Earl of Albemarle, General Conway obtained the government of the iſle of Jerſey, whom Sir Jeffery Amherſt ſucceeded as lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and was afterwards called to the privy council. Lord Stormont was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary at the court of Verſailles, in the room of the Earl of Harcourt. Mr. Jenkinſon was appointed vice-treaſurer of Ireland, and Mr. Charles Fox a lord of the treaſury in his room.

The nation had now enjoyed a nine years peace; and that active ſpirit ſo prevalent in this country, and characteriſtic of the people, diſcovered itſelf in great and laudable undertakings, which tended to facilitate inland traffic, and to open a ready communication between great trading towns, by means of navigable canals. The commerce with America indeed languiſhed, in conſequence of the diſagreements which had broke out between this country and thoſe colonies; the beneficial commerce with Portugal was on the decline; the Levant trade too, once ſo profitable on account of the demand which it cauſed for our manufactures, as well as for the productions

productions of our Weſt India Iſlands, and on account of the balance which accrued from it, was no longer important. The ſouthern parts of France had for many years availed themſelves of the advantages which their ſituation afforded, and underſold us in all the Turkiſh ports. But the loſs of this trade was now compenſated by the great increaſe of the commerce with Ruſſia, in conſequence of the advances made in civilization throughout that extenſive empire; and the endeavours uſed by the preſent empreſs, to introduce among the higher orders of the ſtate, the arts and manners of the more poliſhed kingdoms of Europe. Notwithſtanding which, our foreign trade, taken in the aggregate, was much on the decline; and the balance was againſt us in many parts of Europe, owing to the great increaſe of luxury throughout the kingdom. In proof of which, although our gold coin was reduced to a diſgraceful ſtate of deficiency, yet conſiderable quantities were clandeſtinely exported, particularly by the Jews.

Aſia was the quarter of the world from whence the nation enjoyed an influx of riches. Numbers of thoſe who had acquired fortunes in India, returned every year to their native country; theſe, in general, being eager to purchaſe eſtates, the value of land roſe to a height which it had never before reached; the public and private banks were full of caſh; inſomuch, that it has been ſaid to have been in the contemplation of government, to reduce the legal rate of intereſt from five to four per cent. for, notwithſtanding theſe appearances of wealth in the nation, the public funds were conſiderably lower than they had been ſoon after the peace took place.

This

This ſtate of the kingdom was very favourable to the enterprizing and induſtrious manufacturer and merchant, as it facilitated the procurement of money on perſonal ſecurity; but at the ſame time, it encouraged a very deſtructive mode of raiſing money, by drawing and negotiating bills of exchange, and iſſuing notes of hand, for which no valuable conſideration was given in the firſt inſtance; and the eaſe with which an imaginary capital was thus raiſed and maintained, occaſioned the abuſe to be carried to ſuch an exceſs, as in the end threatened the deſtruction of all confidence between man and man. People of no fortune, or even ſuch as were actually inſolvent, without having incurred the ſuſpicion of it, were hereby enabled to keep up an appearance of opulence for a time, and to purſue deſperate ſchemes under the vain expectation of ſpeedily becoming rich. Diſſipation and extravagance were at once the cauſes of ſuch practices, and the effects produced by them. The maſs of unthinking men grew unmindful of their expences, becauſe they were enabled to raiſe preſent money to defray them; whilſt others, were driven to ſuch expedients when their profuſion had waſted their fortunes. Another practice which was equally prevalent at the time now ſpoken of, was, hazarding deſperate ſtakes on the fluctuations of the public funds. It is true, the miſchievous practice of ſtock-jobbing has prevailed almoſt ever ſince the creation of a national debt; but the great fluctuation in the price of India ſtock about this time, afforded greater ſcope than uſual to the inſatiate gameſter. An adventurer, whoſe conduct was

neither

neither under the reſtraints of prudence nor principle; and who had riſen in a few years from the condition of a ſervant, to be a partner, and chief manager, in a very reſpectable banking-houſe, having for ſome time ſpeculated with ſucceſs in the alley, and realized a fortune, became intoxicated with his elevation; he rivalled peers, and even Eaſt-India nabobs, in his profuſe mode of living; and, confiding in the ſuppoſed ſuperiority of his penetration, made contracts for the delivery of India ſtock to an immenſe amount, at a ſhort future day, fully aſſured of its falling conſiderably in the intervening time. In this expectation he was however deceived; and the ſtock roſe to a great height, whereby himſelf and his partners were involved in one ſudden ruin. Commercial credit was greatly affected by this failure, eſpecially as it was immediately followed by other eminent bankers, and many conſiderable merchants became bankrupt. The concuſſion was dreadful: all the airy bubbles of unſubſtantial conſequence in the trading world, now burſt at once. In this ſtate of general diſtruſt and alarm, the bank of England refuſed to diſcount all bills; and many men of the moſt unqueſtionable property, who had embarked in large concerns, felt all the embarraſſments of poverty, being unable to raiſe immediate money on any kind of ſecurity. Many wealthy families were totally ruined by the failure of others. The opulent tradeſman was no longer conſidered as an object of envy by the country gentleman, who now beheld him as deriving all his conſequence from precarious and deluſive dependencies; whilſt the landholder,

although

although perhaps obliged to live in a manner circumſcribed, held his fortune by too permanent a tenure to be endangered by the indiſcretions of others. This violent ſhock, however, in its conſequences, ſerved to place commercial intercourſe, on a more ſolid and beneficial baſis, by inculcating wholeſome caution and prudent reſerve.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Meeting of parliament—Embarraſſment of the Eaſt-India Company—Plan for ſending out ſupervisors—Secret committee choſen by the houſe of Commons, to enquire into the ſtate of the Company—Report made by the Chairman—Diſcuſſion of the rights which the Company poſſeſſed by virtue of their charter—Bill to reſtrain the Company from ſending out ſupervisors—Petition of the proprietors of India ſtock to the houſe—Revenue drawn from the Company by government—Abuſes in Bengal—Conduct of adminiſtration towards the Company arraigned—Proceedings of the houſe of Lords—Proteſt—Enquiry into the expedition againſt the Caribbs—Condition of the iſland of St. Vincent at the peace—Augmentation of the half-pay of captains in the navy—The Eaſt-India Company apply to parliament for a loan—Regulations propoſed by Lord North—Reports from the ſelect committee—The Company permitted to export their teas duty free—Remonſtrance—Addreſs from the Company to parliament—Bill for regulating the Company's affairs, as well in India as in Europe—Charges exhibited againſt Lord Clive—Reaſons which probably operated to defeat the enquiry—Proteſt of the Lords againſt the bill for regulating the Eaſt-India Company—the loan refuſed on the conditions preſcribed—The Company compelled to accept it—vaſt influence acquired by government—State of finance for the year 1773.

WHILST the commercial part of the nation was ſhaken by theſe unexpected events, the parliament was called to meet early in the winter, in conſequence of the no leſs alarming ſtate of the Eaſt-India company.

November

November 26, 1772, his majeſty opened the ſeſſions of parliament by a ſpeech from the throne. In which he told them, that he had called them thus early together that they might have an opportunity of being fully informed of the true ſtate of the Eaſt-India Company's affairs; and that they might make ſuch proviſions for the common benefit and ſecurity of all the various intereſts concerned, as they ſhall find beſt adapted to the exigencies of the caſe.

The flattering proſpects which the company's ſervants in Bengal had held out, of the immenſe wealth which would be derived to the proprietary from the territorial acquiſitions there, had proved no other than vain deluſions. The company had accepted bills from India to the amount of more than a million ſterling, which was four times the amount which they allowed the council to draw for; and in conſequence of the failure of returns from thence, was indebted to the Bank for money borrowed, to the revenue of the cuſtoms for the duties on goods; and had not a ſufficient ſum in their treaſury to make good their quarterly payment of 100,000 l. to government.

The manner in which the company had been ſet at nought by its ſervants in India, whilſt the moſt poſitive orders of the direction were either evaded, or utterly diſregarded, had led it to ſend out ſupervifors in the year 1769; theſe gentlemen were inveſted with very extenſive powers, by the exerciſe of which, it was hoped, that a general reform would be brought about, and a radical cure of theſe growing evils effected. But the ſhip in which they were embarked, was never heard of after ſhe ſailed from the Cape of Good Hope, ſo that the mal-adminiſtration in Hindoſtan continued without reſtraint or control. The bill which

Mr.

Mr. Sullivan brought in during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, but which the houſe rejected, aimed at new modelling entirely the government of Bengal. During the ſummer, the company had reſolved on ſending out ſuperviſors to India, and ſix gentlemen were nominated to that important truſt. *

When the addreſs in anſwer to the king's ſpeech was moved for in the houſe of Commons, by the Hon. Mr. Fitzpatrick, he expatiated on the enormous abuſes practiſed in India, and repreſented the Company as being in a ruinous and deſperate condition. Lord North drew a different picture. He ſaid, that from every thing he could learn reſpecting the ſtate of the Company, their embarraſſments, though grievous for the preſent, were not of ſuch a nature as to weaken their ſtability; that their vaſt ſtock of teas, and the merchandize imported from their different ſettlements, all which were ſafely depoſited at home; beſides their property in India, and what were floating on the ſeas, proved that their preſent embarraſſments were only temporary, and ought not to affect the credit of the company. He then made a motion that a committee of ſecrecy, conſiſting of thirteen perſons, ſhould be choſen by ballot; which after conſiderable oppoſition, was adopted by the houſe.† This committee was furniſhed

* Gen. Monckton, George Cumming, William Devaynes, Peter Laſcelles, Daniel Wier, and Edward Wheeler, Eſqrs.

† The gentlemen choſen were Mr. Alderman Harley, chairman, (whoſe great uncle, the firſt Earl of Oxford, was an arbitrator choſen to adjuſt the intereſts of the two Eaſt-India companies, when they were united in 1701.) Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Palmerſtone, Mr. Rigby, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Jackſon, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Burrel, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Eames, and Mr. Gilbert.

furniſhed with full powers, and it was laid down to them, as an inſtruction, to take into particular conſideration, the meaſure of ſending out a commiſſion of ſuperviſion to any part of our territories in the Eaſt-Indies. The ſelect committee which had been choſen the laſt ſeſſion was then revived, more perhaps from a reſpect to the members who compoſed it, than from any views which the miniſter had of accompliſhing his purpoſes by its means.

The chairman of the ſecret committee reported to the houſe, on the ſeventh of December, that the Eaſt-India company, notwithſtanding their acknowledged diſtreſſes for want of money, were preparing to ſend out a commiſſion of ſuperviſors to India, the expence attending which was calculated at 120,000 l. per annum, which would ſtill add to their diſtreſs; and recommended that a bill ſhould be brought in, to reſtrain them for a limitted time, from ſending out ſuperviſors; and a bill was brought in accordingly.

All the powers of eloquence, and force of reaſoning, were called forth in the diſcuſſion of this momentous point. The attorney and ſolicitor-general contended that the charter of the company did not empower it to appoint ſuperviſors. The malverſations which had been ſo long practiſed with impunity in the Eaſt, were repreſented as too enormous for any effort of the court of directors to correct; and that the powers which government poſſeſſed, were alone capable of reſtoring the inhabitants of Hindoſtan to the ſecure enjoyment of liberty and property, curbing rapacity and violence, and directing the revenues of that extenſive country into their proper channels. The ſubject naturally led to an enquiry, whether a company of merchants, acting under a charter,

have

have a right to conquer and hold to themſelves dominions, and eſtabliſh civil regulations there, independent of the ſtate to which they belong.

In the progreſs of this reſtraining bill through the houſe, Mr. Sullivan delivered a petition from the Eaſt-India company againſt it;* in which, with all deference to the wiſdom and ſupreme authority of parliament, they repreſent the bill as ſubverſive of thoſe rights which they hold under their charter; the privileges of which have been purchaſed by their predeceſſors from the public for a valuable conſideration, confirmed by ſeveral acts of parliament; the proviſions of which the petitioners are not in any degree conſcious of having violated.

It then complained, that the report of the ſecret committee, upon which the bill was to proceed, was erroneous with reſpect to the calculation of the expences; and if their affairs had been examined in a public manner, the petitioners might have had an opportunity of attending to their ſeveral intereſts; the report which would then have been made, would have been very different from that which has appeared. It then ſtated, that the expences of the commiſſion was deſigned to have been defrayed from a part of the ſavings propoſed to be made thereby, ſo that the creditors of the Company could not have been injured in any degree, but muſt have been on the contrary greatly benefited. It ſuggeſted the dangerous conſequences to the Company ariſing from ſuch a bill, which would prevent them from taking the neceſſary ſteps for the arrangement of their affairs, and thereby may deprive them of the means of fulfilling

* It was ſigned by no more than fourteen proprietors of ſtock.

ling their engagements to the public; and concluded with claiming, with all humility, the benefit of the law of the land, and the public faith of the nation, for the free enjoyment and exercise of the rights and powers which they held under their charter; and prayed, that they may be heard by themselves, or their counsel, against the bill.

Counsel being hereupon admitted, it was given in evidence at the bar of the house, that government had received by the nett duties, and the stipulated 400,000 l. little less than two millions annually from the Company; which at the same time had lost a million by the indemnity agreement upon tea, of which 700,000 l. went to government, and the remainder to the purchasers. The whole of the Company's receipts of dividends during the five last years, scarcely amounted to 900,000 l. more than 6 per cent. upon its capital, which was the lowest trading dividend that had ever been made during the most expensive and dangerous war. It appeared upon the whole, the Company's mercantile profits during the above period, amounted, on an average, to 464,000l. annually, which would have afforded a dividend of 12 and a half per cent. so that while government profited to the great amount of two millions, the proprietary, instead of reaping any benefit, lost considerably of the dividend, which the profit of their trade only, independent of the territorial revenues, would have afforded.

These facts were much insisted on by the counsel who were heard on the third reading.* The abuses in India, particularly at Bengal, were represented with equal precision. In the military esta-

blishment

* December 18.

bliſhment there, the annual expence of thirty-thouſand ſoldiers, not four thouſand of whom were Europeans, amounted to above a million. At Fort St. George, where an army of twenty-three thouſand men was maintained, of which four thouſand four hundred were Europeans, the annual expence was near 300,000 l. By putting the Bengal army on a ſimilar footing with that at Fort St. George, the expence ought to be very little more than 400,000 l. If this reform could by any means be brought about, the ſaving to the Company would exceed half a million annually.

The ſame gradation of profuſion was obſerved in the civil eſtabliſhment. At Bengal, one hundred and ſeventy-one civil ſervants, annually coſt the Company 300,000 l. and at Fort St. George one hundred and fourteen civil ſervants, coſt only 50,000 l. Theſe were ſaid to be proper objects of regulation; and it was evident great ſavings, and ſuch as prodigiouſly exceeded the expences of ſuperviſors, might be made.

Beſides the regulations neceſſary to be introduced into the civil and military eſtabliſhments, other œconomical plans might be adopted. Great abuſes had been committed in making additional fortifications and building barracks. The whole expence of forts ſince 1765, the time when the ſelect committee at Bengal was firſt inſtituted, amounted to more than 1,200,000 l. The natives were likewiſe grievouſly oppreſſed, not only by heavy duties on all the neceſſaries of life, but by a tax called Matoot, which was levied under pretext of repairing bridges, roads, &c. the produce of which was divided among the committee.*

Until

* Mr. Sykes, who was then in the houſe, was charged with having received ſeveral thouſands per annum from this tax, which was levied for five years without the knowledge of the directors at home.

Until the ſelect committee of Lord Clive had the direction of affairs, the civil and military expences of the Company at Bengal had never exceeded 700,000l. The next year 1766, they came up to 900,000l. and ſo on gradually, till at length, in 1771, they amounted to 1,800,000l. ſterling. This detail clearly demonſtrated, that a commiſſion of able and upright men, veſted with juſt power and authority, might ſave the Company ſums, againſt which the expence of the ſupervifors would weigh but little in the ſcale. The counſel contended, that the Company claimed a right of maintaining their own concerns by the powers veſted in them by their charter, and likewiſe in return for ſignal ſervices which they had rendered to the nation.

Thus the evidence given in at the bar, and the pleading of counſel, ſerved to eſtabliſh facts which were not before doubted, namely, the great delinquency of the Company's ſervants; but they did not tend to confirm the belief, that the Company was competent to the redreſs of theſe abuſes, eſpecially as the ſelect committee at Calcutta, from whence theſe enormities had ſprung, was formed for the purpoſe of correcting ſuch evils.

The important queſtion was, whether the preſent exigency and imbecillity of the Company, were ſuch as warranted the interpoſition of parliament. Lord George Germain acknowledged the bill to be a great ſtretch of parliamentary authority, and not to be juſtifiable but by the moſt cogent neceſſity, which precedes all other law; but he ſaw, in that inſtance, the neceſſity preſſing upon the houſe to interfere, in the cleareſt manner.

Lord John Cavendiſh was of a different opinion. He ſaid, when extraordinary remedies become the ordinary engines of government, you may be aſſured you have a weak miniſtry. Men of ſuperior, and even of common abilities, foreſee, and endeavour to prevent great evils; and if, in the fluctuation of human events, ſuch evils ſhould nevertheleſs ariſe, they know how to remove them, without offering violence to the general ſyſtem; to thoſe ſacred inſtitutions, which are to human ſociety, what gravitation is to the conſtitution of the univerſe.

On this occaſion Mr. Burke diſplayed all thoſe rare qualities of the head and heart, with which he is ſo eminently gifted. He obſerved, that in 1767 parliament took the ſtate of the Eaſt-India Company's trade and revenue into conſideration, for the doing which five reaſons were aſſigned.—The maintenance of the public faith—The ſupport of public credit—The increaſe of the Company's trade—The increaſe of its revenues—and the ſecurity of the ſtockholders. This grand and ſalutary plan was entered upon. Books upon books, and papers upon papers, were brought up, and piled upon the table. The ſubject was conſidered and reconſidered; debate ſucceeded debate, and reſolution followed reſolution. One and forty times did the houſe ſit on this buſineſs, and more than once till four o'clock in the morning. What was the reſult? *Quid ferat hic tantum dignum promiſſor hiatu?* What did this mountain in labour bring forth? No mouſe truly, but a fair round ſum of 400,000l. a year to government. In this manner did parliament provide for the maintenance of the public faith, and the ſupport of the public credit!

In

In this manner did parliament increaſe the Company's trade and revenue, and give ſecurity to the ſtockholders! When the Company *came down* handſomely, and furniſhed a reaſonable ſum to pay off the arrears of the civil liſt, arrears ſo honourably and uſefully contracted, the five reaſons were forgot. The eyes of parliament were dazzled, and could no longer ſee how to make any regulations for ſecuring the permanence and ſtability of that lucrative bargain which it had made. The Company, without the aid of precedent, without the light of experience, without chart or compaſs, was allowed to ſteer at random through this perilous ocean. What wonder that they loſt their courſe! The wonder would have been, if aſſiſted by no lights, but by thoſe communicated by ſervants, intereſted through the fear of paſt embezzlement, and the hope of future peculation, to miſlead, they had not been bewildered and loſt. The diſtreſs of the Company ariſes from the improvidence of adminiſtration, and the ſhort-ſightedneſs of parliament, in not forming for it a ſyſtem of government ſuitable to its form and conſtitution. He added, Or am I miſtaken? Were the affairs of the Company deſignedly left in confuſion? Were the directors left without any effectual control over delinquent ſervants? Was the collection of the revenues left without any check? Was the tyranny of a double government, like our double cabinet, tolerated, with a view of ſeeing the concerns of the Company become an abſolute chaos of diſorder, and of giving government a handle for ſeizing the territorial revenue? I know that this was the original ſcheme of adminiſtration, and I violently ſuſpect that it never has been relinquiſhed. If

the miniſtry have no ſiniſter view, if they do not mean by this unconſtitutional ſtep to extend the influence of the crown, they will now ſpeak out, and explicitly declare their intentions. Their ſilence may be juſtly conſtrued into a confeſſion of ſuch a deſign, and they will thenceforth be conſidered as the determined enemies of the liberty of their country. God knows, that the places and penſions, and expectancies furniſhed by the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, are too powerful for the ſmall remains of patriotiſm and public ſpirit that remain in our iſland. What then will become of us, if Bengal, if the Ganges, pour in a new tide of corruption? Should the evil genius of Britiſh liberty ſo ordain it, I fear this houſe will be ſo far from removing the corruption of the Eaſt, that it will be corrupted by it. I dread more from the infection of that place, than I hope from the virtue of this houſe. Was it not the ſudden plunder of the Eaſt that gave the final blow to the freedom of Rome? What reaſon have we to expect a better fate? I conjure you by every thing which man ought to hold ſacred; I conjure you by the ſpirits of your forefathers, who ſo nobly fought and bled for the cauſe for which I now plead; I conjure you by what includes every thing, by your country, not to yield to the temptations which the Eaſt in the hands of the crown holds out, not to ſink into the gulph of corruption, and to drag after you your poſterity, your country. I obteſt heaven and earth, that in all places, and at all times, I have hitherto ſhoved by the gilded hand of corruption, and endeavoured to ſtem the torrent which threatens to overwhelm this land. Upon the whole, the bill is dangerous in itſelf, as being the firſt ſtep towards a total invaſion of

of the Company's territories in Bengal; and, ſhould we admit the motives which lead to it to be good, yet ſuch a ſtep is dangerous as a precedent. I do not, however, deny that the houſe has the power to paſs it, but you have not the right. There is a perpetual confuſion in gentlemen's ideas from inattention to this material diſtinction; from which, properly conſidered, it will appear, that this bill is contrary to the eternal laws of right and wrong, laws that ought to bind all men, and above all men, legiſlative aſſemblies!

Upon a diviſion the bill paſſed one hundred and fifty-three to twenty-eight.

In the houſe of Lords it met with a faint oppoſition, but was productive of a proteſt, in which, a among many other reaſons aſſigned, it was oppoſed, becauſe it appears that the Company were not only authoriſed by law, but bound in duty, to appoint a commiſſion for regulating their affairs and correcting abuſes. It might have been alledged againſt the company, that non-uſer and neglect of applying legal powers, for the ends for which ſuch powers were given, were matters of delinquency in that corporation, and might have ſubjected them to proceſs in the courts below, or to an adverſe proceeding in parliament. It is a government, the proteſters conceive, full of deceit as well as violence, where men are to be puniſhed if they decline, or to be reſtrained if they endeavour to exerciſe their lawful powers.

The bill paſſed by twenty-ſix to ſix. No ſooner was this buſineſs diſpatched, than the two houſes adjourned for the Chriſtmas receſs.

When

When the parliament was re-aſſembled, the Hon. Mr. Thomas Townſhend moved * for an enquiry into an expedition which had been made againſt the Caribbean Indians, dwelling on the Iſland of St. Vincent, in the Weſt Indies.

This Iſland, together with thoſe of St. Lucia and Dominica, had been formerly conſidered, both by us and the French, as neutral, and the natives as lawful poſſeſſors of the ſoil. When St. Vincent's became ſubject to Great-Britain, at the peace of Fontainbleau, the French planters had ſettled in the northern or leeward parts, whilſt the native Carribbeans occupied the windward, or ſouthern, diſtricts. When orders were iſſued from the treaſury, for the ſale of lands in the ceded iſlands, the French poſſeſſors on this ſpot, were required to pay certain ſtipulated ſums for the lands which they occupied, the right by which they held them being conſidered as invalid; but orders were given, that the Caribbs ſhould not be diſturbed in their poſſeſſions, whilſt they obſerved a quiet and inoffenſive demeanour. Among theſe Caribbs, were about a thouſand fighting men. The new ſettlers who arrived from England, ſoon beheld with a jealous eye, the fertile plains which were occupied by theſe people. They propoſed an exchange of lands, by which theſe Indians would poſſeſs a part of the iſland equally convenient for their occupations of hunting and fiſhing, but being overrun with wood unfavourable for cultivation. This propoſed exchange was approved by government at home, but rejected with great ſpirit by the Caribbs, who inſiſted on their right of retaining the lands which they poſſeſſed, in the ſame independent manner in

* January 25, 1773.

in which they had hitherto held them, declaring that they acknowledged no more ſubjection to the King of Great-Britain, than they had formerly done to the monarch of France. This firm maintenance of their natural rights was repreſented, by the rapacious planters, as a dangerous extirpating ſpirit, which expoſed the new Colony to continual dangers of being overwhelmed, and it was ſubmitted to government, whether it was not expedient to tranſport theſe unhappy people either to the coaſt of Africa, or to the deſart Iſland of St. Matthew. The latter ſcheme was at length complied with, on condition that they could not be brought to ſubmit to the Engliſh government, and inſtructions were ſent by Lord Hillſborough to provide them with every neceſſary accommodation, and ſhew the moſt humane treatment, both in their conveyance to, and eſtabliſhment in their new ſettlement. But as the Caribbs were highly irritated at being thus diſpoſſeſſed of their native poſſeſſions, and as there was no force on the iſland ſufficient to execute the orders, in April 1772, General Gage was directed to ſend two regiments from North America to St. Vincent's, and a force nearly equal thereto was collected from the other iſlands. The arrival of theſe troops, together with ſome men of war which were deſigned to co-operate in the attack, no ways intimidated the Caribbs, who defended themſelves with their bows and arrows, and other miſſile weapons, in the uſe of which they were very expert. The rainy ſeaſon, which was then ſet in, and the want of proper huts to ſhelter the troops, cauſed great ſickneſs among them; the accounts of which that were tranſmitted to England, joined to the ſuppoſed injuſtice of the war which was waging, gave birth to the enquiry, which however was deferred

from

from time to time, in expectation of ſome official advices being received. It was not, until the 12th of February, that witneſſes were examined at the bar; ſome of whom repreſented the Caribbs as a quiet, friendly, and fair-dealing race of men, who had been driven to acts of hoſtility by the injuſtice and avarice of the new ſettlers from England; whilſt others deſcribed them as perfidious and cruel, with violent paſſions, and indulging a lawleſs freedom in the gratification of them, and from their attachment to the French as dangerous neighbours, eſpecially in a new ſettlement. The evidence being gone thro', Mr. Townſhend made two motions, the firſt of which was, " that this expedition to St. Vincent was undertaken without ſufficient provocation on the part of the Caribbs, upon the repreſentation of intereſted men, and muſt, if ſucceſsful, end in their total extirpation." The ſecond, " that the military were ſent out in an improper ſeaſon of the year, and that it was likely to end in the ruin of ſome of the beſt troops in the ſervice."

After much debate, the houſe divided, for the firſt motion eighty-eight, againſt it two hundred and ſix. For the ſecond ſeventy-eight, againſt it ninety-nine.

Whilſt the ſubject was thus agitating in parliament, a treaty was entered into between the Caribbs, and Major General Dalrymple, who commanded the King's troops: by which, the former agreed to become ſubjects of the King of Great-Britain, to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance, and to ſubmit to the laws and government of the iſland, ſo far as related to their intercourſe, and to all tranſactions with the white inhabitants; but in their own diſtricts, and in all matters that related to each other, they

were

were to retain their ancient cuſtoms and uſages. They, by the ſame inſtrument, ceded a large tract of valuable land to the crown, in conſideration of thoſe parts of the iſland which they retained, being ſecured to them and their poſterity for ever.

The ſale of lands in the ceded iſlands, was a meaſure which had drawn on the miniſtry much cenſure; the exigencies of the ſtate were urged in its defence, and the large ſums which would thereby be brought into the treaſury; but although the lands were ſold, the ſums received by government were extremely inconſiderable, ſo that the ſcheme evidently tended iniquitouſly to enrich individuals, without benefiting the ſtate; notwithſtanding which flagrant malverſation, no enquiry was ſet on foot, ſo that it was not the Eaſt-India Company alone that was plundered by its ſervants.

February 9, Lord Howe brought up a petition from the captains of the navy, praying a ſmall addition to their half-pay. Lord North informed the houſe, that no matter which was to affect the public revenue, ought to be agitated there, without the conſent of the crown, given by ſome of its officers: he did not however mean to oppoſe the petition on that ground, and would give his conſent to its being brought up, but he meant, for many cogent reaſons, to oppoſe it through every ſtage.

Notwithſtanding the authority which declared againſt the petition, and that the three moſt eminent naval commanders, Hawke, Saunders, and Keppel, were prevented from attending on account of indiſpoſition, the houſe in general, ſeemed heartily to enter into the intereſts of the petitioners.

Lord

Lord Howe ſtated to the houſe, the grounds on which the requeſt of the petitioners was founded, by taking a view of the manner of paying and providing for the captains of the navy, from the time of their firſt having a permanent exiſtence as a military body, to the eſtabliſhment by which their pay is now regulated. He deſcribed the manner in which they were provided for in times of peace during the reigns of Charles IId, King William and Queen Anne; and ſhewed, that until the year 1715, when they were put on the footing in which they have ever ſince continued, they were always highly rewarded, by poſts of conſiderable profit, by particular gratifications, and by a half-pay, double to what they now receive. His lordſhip therefore moved, that the petition might be referred to a committee, in order to conſider the ſame, and report their opinion to the houſe.

Lord North acknowledged the merits of the petitioners, and their claims on their country for favour and ſupport; but lamented that the preſent ſituation of our finances would not admit of any additional expences being incurred, however forcible the plea which might be urged for them. He obſerved, that by granting the petition, this houſe would be importuned with many more. The military would next ſolicit relief, and he was informed, that the ſhipwrights meant to prefer a petition for an advance of their wages, and it would be impoſſible for the ſtate to comply with the requeſt of ſuch numerous bodies.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, treaſurer of the navy, entered into an hiſtorical detail of the public proviſions made for the navy, both in times of non-employment and actual ſervice, from the reign of Henry VIII. when a naval force was firſt regularly

eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, to that of King William, and concluded with ſtating ſome pertinent facts which occurred in the latter reign. In the year 1692, the pay of a captain in the navy, was 27s. per diem, with an allowance of twelve ſervants, at ſix-pence per day each, which made the whole 33s. The year after, a different arrangement took place; the pay was raiſed to 30s. and the allowance for ſervants ſtruck off. During both theſe regulations, the half-pay was 15s. The year 1699 was remarkable for a variety of œconomical reforms, among which the expenſes of the naval department were retrenched. The full pay of captains was reduced from 30s. to 20s. with which likewiſe the half-pay liſt was to conform. Soon after the peace of Utrecht, it underwent another conſiderable reduction, which brought it to the rate at which it now ſtands. He did not, however, wiſh that the houſe ſhould comply with the preſent application.

In ſupport of the petition it was alleged, that not more than five or 6000 l. per annum, would be required to gratify the wiſhes of ſo reſpectable a body of men, to whom the nation owed the higheſt obligations; and it was aſked, is that a ſum to affect a great and opulent nation, at the end of a ten years peace; when France, notwithſtanding her defeats, diſtreſſes, and public inſolvency, had the good policy to make a proviſion for her navy captains? The large ſums which in the laſt ſeſſion had been voted for *virtù*, and other purpoſes of much leſs national concernment, were placed in contraſt to the preſent parſimonious humour.

Upon a diviſion, the petition was received by a majority of nine; the numbers being 154 to 145. Upon which occaſion, the firſt lord of the treaſury

found

found himſelf again in a minority.* An addreſs was ſoon after preſented to his majeſty, that an addition of two ſhillings a day might be made to the half-pay of navy captains, which brought it to about 110 l. per annum. When the bill came out of the committee, Lord North not only ſupported it, but propoſed that it ſhould be extended to encreaſing the pay of captains in the navy, commanding fifth and ſixth rates, in actual ſervice; but this amendment was over-ruled.

Notwithſtanding the deplorable ſtate of affairs in the Eaſt-Indies, a twelvemonth had paſſed in which parliament had directed its attention, merely to negative the plans for reformation, which the directors and proprietary had adopted; during which time, a wide ſcope was given to that ſpirit of rapacity which univerſally prevailed in India. The time was however, at length arrived, for the miniſter to change his ground; whilſt ſuch events had turned up, as tended to gratify every wiſh which the moſt ambitious ſtateſman could form.

At a general court of proprietors of India ſtock, held on the twenty-fourth of February, 1773, the queſtion was decided by ballot, whether an application ſhould be made to parliament for a loan of a million and a half, or ſo much as ſhould be wanted, by inſtallments, for four years, at four pounds per cent. per annum, with liberty of repaying the ſame as ſoon as the Company may be able, by payments of not leſs than 300,000 l. it was carried by a great majority.

In conſequence of which reſolution, a petition was preſented to parliament for that purpoſe; and it

* Lord North voted againſt Mr. Grenville's bill to regulate controverted elections, and for the Eaſt-India Company's recruiting bill.

it was therein farther propoſed, that the Company ſhould not make a dividend of more than ſix per cent. until one half of the propoſed loan was diſcharged; when they might raiſe their dividend to eight per cent. and after the whole loan was diſcharged, that the ſurplus of the net profits ariſing in England above the ſaid dividend, ſhould be appropriated to the payment of the Company's bond debt, until it was reduced to a million and a half; and from thence, that the ſurplus profits ſhould be equally divided between the public and the Company. It was alſo requeſted, that the Company ſhould be releaſed from the heavy penal intereſt incurred by the non-payment of money, owing in conſequence of the late acts for the indemnities on teas, and alſo diſcharged from the annual payment of 400,000 l. to the public, for the remainder of the five years ſpecified in the agreement.

A committee of the whole houſe proceeded to take into conſideration the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company.* Lord North entered on the buſineſs, by diſclaiming the idea that the Company in their preſent exigency, had a claim of right upon the public for relief. He repreſented the vaſt ſums which had been paid into the Exchequer by the Company, as bearing no proportion to the revenues drawn from the Aſiatic territories; the depredations of their ſervants in India, neither the miniſter nor the houſe of Commons, were any ways acceſſary to, or anſwerable for; but the granting relief to the Company was a matter of neceſſary policy and expediency, although in no degree a claim of right or juſtice. He then entered largely into the ſtate of the Company, and

* March 9, 1773.

and declared it to be a fact, that the directors had propoſed a dividend at the very time when the Company was in little better than an inſolvent ſtate; and before the next September, the Company would be deficient 1,300,425 l. To extricate this great commercial body from ſo alarming a ſituation, various plans had been ſuggeſted; one was, that the Company might be empowered to borrow money upon bond, to the amount of what they wanted; but he diſapproved of that method, as they had already ſtretched their credit too far in that way. Funding the Company's bills was another expedient named; but this his lordſhip ſaid, would not anſwer the purpoſe, becauſe it would not bring immediate relief. So that upon the whole, he thought it for the intereſt of the public, that the relief granted to the Company ſhould come from the public; at the ſame time, taking the neceſſary precautions to prevent the like diſtreſſes befalling the Company in future; he therefore propoſed two reſolutions to be adopted by the houſe, by which a loan of 1,400,000 l. ſhould be granted, and not more than ſix per cent. be divided among the proprietors until *the whole* ſhould be repaid. That the Company be allowed to divide no more than ſeven per cent. until their bond debt be reduced to a million and a half; and no more than eight per cent. before the participation of profits between the public and the Company ſhall take place. The latter propoſition was rejected. At the ſame time, his Lordſhip waved the particular diſcuſſion of the queſtion, concerning the Company's claim of excluſive right to its territorial poſſeſſions; yet inſiſted on a prior right in the ſtate, from whence he inferred the juſtice and legality of interpoſing its authority in all caſes, in the Company's affairs; and ſupported his aſſer-

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tion by the opinion of very ſound lawyers, whom he ſtyles the luminaries of the age, who had declared that ſuch territorial poſſeſſions as the ſubjects of any ſtate ſhall acquire by conqueſt, are virtually the property of the ſtate, and not of thoſe indivuals who acquire them.

Although the queſtion of right in the Company to receive the revenues from Bengal, was not, at that time, the ſubject of debate, yet ſuch a ſentiment being incidentally delivered, by the premier, drew forth replies; and it was inſiſted, that when the ſtate makes a ſolemn and authentic delegation of its authority to a diſtinct and ſeparate body, it cannot, conſiſtently with juſtice and public faith, lay claim to poſſeſſions which that body may legally acquire. And it was inſiſted, that the Company's poſſeſſions in India were not ſtrictly conqueſts, but farms, held from the prince, who was their proprietor and rightful owner; and that a queſtion of property of that nature was to be decided in a court of juſtice, and was not a proper ſubject of diſcuſſion for the houſe of Commons, where the public, who was a party in the cauſe, would ſit in judgment.

At length, after the ſubject in general had been much diſcuſſed, Lord North informed the houſe,* that in anſwer to the petition of the Eaſt-India Company of the 2d of March, the king had left the ſole determination of the affair to that Houſe: his lordſhip then proceeded to ſtate the propoſitions which he had to make to the houſe. The firſt of which was, "That it is the opinion of this houſe, it will be more beneficial to the public, and the Eaſt-India Company,

* April 5.

Company, to let the territorial acquiſitions remain in the poſſeſſion of the Company for a limited time, not exceeding the term of ſix years; * to commence from the agreement between the public and the Company."

" That no participation of profits ſhall take place between the public and the Company, until after the repayment of the 1,400,000 l. advanced to the Company, and the reduction of the Company's bond debt to a million and a half."

" That after the payment of the loan advanced to the Company, and the reduction of their bond debt to the ſum ſpecified, three-fourths of the net ſurplus profits of the Company at home, above the ſum of eight per cent. upon their capital ſtock, ſhall be paid into the Exchequer, for the uſe of the public; and the remaining one-fourth ſhall be ſet apart, either for farther reducing the Company's bond debt, or for compoſing a fund for the diſcharge of any contingent exigencies the Company may labour under."

Theſe conditions, propoſed by the miniſter, differed in many particulars from thoſe offered by the Company; an eſſential difference was, in the diſtribution to be made of the ſurplus profits between the Company and the public, after the reduction of their bond debts, and being able to divide to the proprietary eight per cent. per ann. on their capital. Indeed this was not the firſt inſtance, in which parliament interfered to regulate the conduct of the Company; for in the year 1730, an act paſſed, by which the intereſt on the Company's ſtock was reduced from 5 l. to 4 l. per cent.

* Which was the unexpired term of their charter.

cent. but it was in compliance with a petition from the Company. As the regulations now propoſed were only the forerunners of very extraordinary innovations in the government of Bengal, many objections were made to them. Mr. Burke took a comprehenſive view of the ſubject, or, as he himſelf afterwards called it, " a bird's-eye view." I have ſtudied, ſaid he, God knows, hard have I ſtudied, even to the making dog's ears in the ſtatute books; and I now publickly and ſolemnly declare, that all you have been doing, and all you are about to do, in behalf of the Eaſt-India Company, is impolitic, unwiſe, and entirely repugnant to the letter, as well as the ſpirit of the laws, the liberties, and the conſtitution of this country. I will venture to propheſy, that this Company, viper-like, will in the end prove the deſtruction of the country which foſtered it in its boſom. He founded his prediction on the total want of principle ſo obſervable among all ranks and degrees of people, cauſed in a great meaſure by the profuſion, diſſipation, and profligacy of thoſe who have brought with them the ſpoils of the Eaſt, to contaminate their native country on the one hand, and ſo groſsly corrupt on the other, that there was no propoſal how deſtructive ſoever to the liberties of the kingdom, which a miniſter could make, but what the people would readily comply with. In the proceedings relative to the Eaſt-India Company, the people followed the cry of the miniſtry: changed as they changed, and varied their tones to keep even a diſcordant ſameneſs with their maſters. He added, Men have not ſtrength of mind to think for themſelves: the higher ranks are all ſupineneſs, all indolent acquieſcence, all ignorance. The vulgar are a ſet that will abuſe

at random, and are to be led on to commit crimes the moſt atrocious, if headed by ſome deſpicable wretch, who has an intereſt to promote by raiſing commotions. He obſerved, that to broach ſuch ſentiments was a conduct ill ſuited to acquire popularity, nor did this oppoſition to the miniſtry ariſe from a latent view of getting into employment. It was dictated by the full aſſurance which he had, that the meaſures then purſuing were ſuch as had the completion of the plan of deſpotiſm for their end; that this plan he had hitherto oppoſed, and would continue ſo to do with all his powers; and he would ſooner have the Eaſt-India Company totally overthrown, than have the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution undermined; or a ſingle pillar which contributed to the ſupport of ſo excellent a ſtructure, receive the ſlighteſt ſhock.——The propoſitions paſſed without a diviſion.

The reports of the ſelect committee which had been printed, brought to light ſuch oppreſſive and tyrannical tranſactions in the Eaſt as excited general indignation, and left the miniſter at full liberty to preſcribe the mode of redreſſing theſe grievances.

In the farther conſideration of Eaſt-India affairs, Lord North moved *, that the houſe ſhould allow the Company to export ſuch part of the tea at preſent in their warehouſes, as they ſhould think proper, to Britiſh America, duty free. He repreſented ſuch a permiſſion as highly beneficial to the Company, who had ſeventeen millions of pounds weight of that commodity in their

* April 27.

their hands †. Soon after, a ſecond petition from the Eaſt-India Company was preſented to the houſe of Commons, complaining that ſome of the moſt material articles of the propoſitions made to the houſe on the ſecond of March, were ſubſtantially rejected. They therein repreſent it as unreaſonable for parliament to require any farther terms, after the loan which they had requeſted ſhould be repaid. It ſtated the great loſſes which the proprietors had ſuſtained, and the expences they had incurred in acquiring and ſecuring the territorial revenues in India, at the riſk of their whole capital, while the public have reaped ſuch great advantages. It complained of the limitation made of the Company poſſeſſing the territorial acquiſitions in India to ſix years as an arbitrary act, and inſiſted, that they had an undoubted right to thoſe poſſeſſions, againſt which right no deciſion exiſts, nor has any formal claim ever been made. The dictating in what manner the ſurpluſes of their net profits, after dividing eight per cent. ſhall be applied, they remonſtrate againſt, becauſe ſuch diſpoſal of their property otherwiſe than by their own conſent, by a general deſcription, comprehending their trade as well as revenues, is not warranted even by the largeſt pretenſions that have ever been formed againſt them. It concludes with praying, that any claims againſt the poſſeſſions of the Company, that can be ſuppoſed to give riſe to ſuch reſtrictions, may receive a legal diſcuſſion; from which, whatever may be the event, they will at leaſt have the ſatisfaction of knowing what they may call their own.

† It was afterwards proved that this ſtock was only equal to two years conſumption.

The miniſter, finding the houſe ſo well diſpoſed to concur in any meaſures which he ſhould propoſe, proceeded to lay before it his plan for regulating the affairs of the Company, as well in India as in Europe; he therefore moved, that the court of directors ſhould in future, be elected for four years; ſix members annually, but none to hold their ſeats longer than four years. II. That no perſon ſhall vote at the election of the directors, who had not poſſeſſed their ſtock twelve months. III. That the ſtock of qualification inſtead of 500 l. be 1000 l. IV. That the mayor's court at Calcutta ſhould for the future be confined to ſmall mercantile cauſes, to which only its juriſdiction extended before the territorial acquiſition. V. That in lieu of this court thus taken away, a new one be eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of a chief juſtice and three puiſne judges. VI. That theſe judges be appointed by the crown. VII. That a ſuperiority be given to the preſidency of Bengal, over the other preſidencies in India.

In the courſe of Lord North's ſpeech he hinted, that other regulations would be neceſſary; among which, he particularly named, that the Company ſhould communicate their advices from Bengal to the Treaſury, or Secretaries of State; and that the Company's ſervants ſhould under heavy penalties, bring all their fortunes home in the Company's ſhips. He ſaid, an entire reformation could not be looked for immediately, the intereſts of Bengal might perhaps require the annual care of parliament.

Such important regulations, in which an unprecedented ſtretch of power was juſtified by the neceſſity of the caſe, met with ſtrong oppoſition: however, every clauſe in the bill was carried by a great

a great majority. The Eaſt-India Company, the City of London, and thoſe proprietors who poſſeſſed votes, by holding 500l. ſtock, or upwards, but leſs than a 1000l. preſented ſeparate petitions; and counſel were heard in behalf of the Company, and of the 500l. ſtockholders. The caſe of the latter was indeed peculiarly hard, as the practice of ſplitting ſtock by colluſive transfers, which the new regulation was eſtabliſhed to prevent, was confined to thoſe who held ſeveral thouſand pounds ſtock, who would hereby continue to avail themſelves as effectually of ſplitting ſtock as before. Where they formerly made two votes, they could now indeed make only one, but that ſingle vote was of prodigiouſly more conſequence after twelve hundred voters were diſfranchiſed. This was puniſhing one body of men for the faults of another, and changing the Eaſt-India Company from a democracy into an oligarchy. The act of power, by which this innovation was made, might, upon the ſame principle of expediency, be exerciſed to diſqualify freeholders, of 40s. a year, from voting for members of parliament, and fixing the qualification at 10l. per annum. The great decreaſe in the value of money, ſince the time when a freehold of 40s. a year was made a qualification for giving a vote for a member of parliament, has rendered ſuch a poſſeſſion very inconſiderable; but India ſtock has ſometimes more than doubled its original value, which gives much greater degree of conſequence to the holders of it, than when the regulation was made in the year 1702.

While

Whilſt this arduous buſineſs was thus advancing towards a completion, the houſe took into conſideration the ſeveral reports from the ſelect committee, and the committee of ſecrecy *. Each of theſe committees had ſtrictly enquired into the conduct of the proprietors ſervants in India, from the commencement of the war with Surajah Dowlah in 1756, which had brought to light tranſactions of the blackeſt dye. General Burgoyne, as chairman of the ſelect committee, declared, that he looked upon the depoſing of Surajah Dowlah, and bringing about a revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier; the ſigning a fictitious treaty with Ormichund, a black merchant, and confidant of Surajah Dowlah, together with the terms obtained from the new nabob, to be the origin of all thoſe troubles which have operated to the temporary diſtreſs, if not the total deſtruction of the Company. The general then propoſed the following reſolutions, and ſaid, that if they met with the approbation of the houſe, he had another motion to make. I. That all acquiſitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the ſtate. II. That to appropriate acquiſitions ſo made, to the private emolument of perſons entruſted with any civil or military power of the ſtate, is illegal. III. That very great ſums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal, from princes and others of the country, by perſons entruſted with the military and civil powers of the ſtate, by means of ſuch powers, which have been appropriated to the private uſe of ſuch perſons.

The

* May 10.

The two great law officers maintained different ſentiments on this ſubject. The ſolicitor-general uſed a variety of arguments againſt the reſolutions, whilſt the attorney-general ſupported them. A general diſſatisfaction prevailed. So long as the Company were enriched by their ſettlements, the auſterity of juſtice was relaxed; but when the plunderers extended their depredations beyond the property of Aſiatic princes, and embezzled the revenues of their maſters, their crimes appeared in all their enormous magnitude, and called aloud for exemplary puniſhment. The three reſolutions were carried almoſt unanimouſly.

However, this zeal to puniſh abuſes of power ſoon after ſubſided: for, when General Burgoyne, ſome few days after, reſumed the ſubject, and ſpoke of the depoſition of Surajah Dowlah, and the various monopolies introduced, and ſtated the immenſe ſums which the Company's ſervants had received under the denomination of preſents, or had extorted by taxations; of the impoveriſhed ſtate of the Indian princes, at the time when they made theſe profuſe preſents; and moved the houſe to reſolve, that the right hon. Robert, Lord Clive, Baron Plaſſey in the kingdom of Ireland, in conſequence of the powers veſted in him in India, had illegally acquired the ſum of 234,000l. to the diſhonour and detriment of the ſtate; many leading members oppoſed the motion on a variety of grounds.

A charge ſo directly brought, occaſioned Lord Clive to enter very fully into his own defence. With much addreſs he pleaded the thanks which he had received from the Directors, when he returned

returned home, after his ſplendid victories, as an approbation of his conduct in fabricating the fictitious treaty which deceived Omichund, and which, he ſaid, he would again have recourſe to, was he placed in ſimilar circumſtances; whereas, in fact, the proprietary knew nothing of that tranſaction at the time when their thanks were voted. His lordſhip ſhewed the critical neceſſity which prevailed in certain ſituations, when the Engliſh power and fortune in Aſia, depended ſolely upon rapid, well-timed, and extraordinary meaſures.

Notwithſtanding this grand delinquent was clearly proved to have acted fraudulently and rapaciouſly, in ſome inſtances, yet he could be conſidered in no other light than as the deliverer of the Eaſt-India Company: his bravery, his addreſs, his talents, ſo admirably ſuited to the occaſion; his generoſity and diſintereſtedneſs in moſt inſtances, together with the undiſturbed poſſeſſion in which he had ſo long enjoyed his vaſt fortune, all pleaded ſtrongly in his behalf.

Perhaps other conſiderations operated to quaſh this inquiry. Much wealth would indeed have been acquired to the ſtate by the forfeitures incurred, in conſequence of a parliamentary proceſs; but ſuch a rigid ſcrutiny, although it would have produced a preſent advantage, would have been attended with many conſequences, which the wiſdom of the preſent times is peculiarly ſolicitous to prevent. The fortunes which are to be acquired in India, by adhering invariably to the line of conduct which ſtrict integrity chalks out, are, perhaps, in general, very inadequate to the views of thoſe who migrate to thoſe diſtant regions;

gions; whilſt a luſt of power, and a paſſion for amaſſing immenſe wealth to gratify the calls of ambition, are leading features in the character of the age. Riches have long been conſidered as a ſubſtitute for virtue; and it would have been highly unprofitable, to have left the managers of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company's concerns in the kingdom of Hindoſtan, and the peninſula of India, no other alternative, than to have returned home with the moderate acquiſitions, honourably made in a long courſe of ſervice; or, if grown wealthy by oppreſſions, to have clandeſtinely tranſported themſelves and their plunder, to a foreign, and moſt probably, a rival country.

Evidence was heard at the bar of the houſe to ſupport the charges brought againſt Lord Clive; his lordſhip's evidence was likewiſe read, after which he made a ſhort ſpeech, and concluded with theſe words, "Take my fortune, but ſave my honour;" whereupon he immediately retired.

General Burgoyne then made the following motion; That it appears to this houſe, that Robert, Lord Clive, Baron Plaſſey in the kingdom of Ireland, about the time of depoſing Surajah Dowlah, nabob of Bengal, and the eſtabliſhment of Meer Jaffier on the muſnud, did, through the influence of the powers with which he was entruſted, as member of the ſelect committee, and commander in chief of the Britiſh forces, obtain and poſſeſs himſelf of 2 lacks and 800,000 rupees, as member of the ſelect committee; a farther ſum of 16 lacks of rupees, or more, under the denomination of private donations; which ſums, amounting together to 20 lacks and 800,000 rupees, were of the value, in Engliſh money, of 234,000l. and, in ſo doing, he abuſed the powers

with

with which he was entrufted, to the evil example of the fervants of the public. Mr. Hans Stanley moved, that the queftion be divided, and the latter part of the motion, which conveyed the cenfure, be left out, which, after warm debates, was agreed to: whereby the houfe, by merely eftablifhing the fact, feemed, by implication, plainly to give it fanction. It would have been more for the credit of the nation to have rejected the motion entirely, than thus to have drawn the fting of it.

A motion was then made by Mr. Wedderburne, at five o'clock in the morning, that Lord Clive did, at the fame time, render great and meritorious fervices to this country, which paffed in the affirmative, and finifhed the enquiry.

Whether the premier on this occafion chofe to appear the friend of public virtue, although he was fully apprized, that the meafure which was calculated to ferve it, would not be adopted; or, that without exerting his influence as a minifter, he followed the dictates of his feelings as a man, certain it is, that he contended for the cenfure againft Lord Clive making part of the refolution.

A fortnight was wafted in this fruitlefs attempt to punifh delinquents, after which the minifter's bill to regulate the Eaft-India Company, was refumed *. Governor Johnftone faid, that the appointment of a general council and judges by the crown, was, in his opinion, annihilating the Company, and transferring the monopoly to the crown, a meafure equally unjuft to the Company, and injurious to the nation. He was clear that the Company could extricate themfelves, without accepting the loan from parliament. Although they

* May 25.

they had creditors, they were not clamorous ones: the treaſury, indeed, might be importunate, and againſt that the Company muſt be prepared. On the 10th of June, the bill being gone through, and the blanks filled up, it was moved, that this bill do paſs, which was agreed to 131 to 21, and Lord North was ordered to carry it to the houſe of Lords. The ſalaries of the judges were thereby fixed at 8000l. to the chief juſtice, and 6000l. a year to each of the other three. The appointments of the governor-general and council were fixed, the firſt at 25,000l. and the four others at 10,000l. each annually. A clauſe was inſerted, whereby every proprietor, poſſeſſed of 2000l. ſtock, was entitled to two votes; of 6000l. ſtock, to three votes; and of 10,000l. ſtock, to four votes, at future elections for directors.

A few days after, a petition was preſented from the Eaſt-India Company, declaring, that they were determined to ſubmit to the temporary difficulties which might attend the preſent ſituation of their affairs, rather than receive the loan offered to them upon the ſevere conditions preſcribed. The houſe was ſtrongly of opinion, that the option of refuſing the loan ſhould not be left in the Company, but that the acceptance of it ſhould be made compulſatory by parliament.

In the houſe of Lords the Duke of Richmond oppoſed the bill with great ſpirit, but the majority in its favour was nearly as great there as in the houſe of Commons. A long proteſt was ſoon entered againſt the bill, ſigned by thirteen peers ‖, in

‖ The proteſters were, the Lords Abingdon, Torrington, Boyle, Groſvenor, * Devonſhire, * Ponſonby, * Portland, King, * Milton, * Richmond, Archer, * Rockingham, Fitz William.

* Theſe ſigned the ſecond proteſt.

in which, one of the ſtrong objections urged, is, that it only transfers patronage without conferring new powers. The ſame noble peer moved, that a conference ſhould be held with the Commons, as no parliamentary information was then before them; which being rejected, produced another proteſt ſigned by ſeven peers. The bill was carried through with amazing celerity, and paſſed the houſe on the 19th of June.

The regulations made in the adminiſtration of affairs in the Eaſt Indies by this act, did not differ eſſentially from thoſe which had been propoſed in Mr. Sullivan's bill, which had been brought in the preceding ſeſſion, except that the ſalaries ſettled on the officers were much larger, and that the appointment to the new offices was veſted in the crown.

When the great Hampden contended with the crown for the payment of forty ſhillings, which he conſidered as illegally levied, it was not within the compaſs of human foreſight to predict, that in little more than a century, that noble zeal, in the ſupport of the juſt rights of mankind, would be loſt in this country. When the parliament, after the peace of Ryſwick, refuſed to comply with a requeſt made by their king and deliverer, that he might retain his Dutch guards, the members who were then ſuch auſtere guardians of liberty againſt the encroachments of regal power, little thought, that even their ſons might be ſenators, when parliaments would become the mere echo of the miniſter; and that the moſt eſſential alterations would take place in the condition of the prince and the people, without any alarm being excited, or the body of the nation having any apprehenſion of the change. But when the

manners

manners of a people alter, their form of government will undergo a correſponding modification. Simplicity and frugality, embrace liberty as the parent of every bleſſing; refinement and luxury ſpread a general indifference among the people, they become blind to conſequences, and indifferent in a general cauſe; which furniſh miniſters with golden opportunities to effect their purpoſes. *Sævior armis luxuria incubuit.*

The reduction made in the national debt this year, fell greatly ſhort of the boaſts of the firſt lord of the treaſury the preceding one; the loan to the Company was raiſed by exchequer bills, charged upon the produce of the India Company, and the aids of 1779.* Indeed, the ſtanding amount of exchequer bills was reduced from 1,800,000l. to a million. So that there were now two millions 400,000 l. in thoſe bills in circulation. The baneful expedient of a lottery was this year renounced. Twenty thouſand ſeamen, including 4534 marines,* and 17,070 land forces, including

1522

* Lord North ſtated the debt due from the Company to Government, with the intereſt, to be 954,000 l. which, together with half a million to the Bank, more than ſwallowed up the whole loan.

† The expence of the navy this year was as follows:

	£.
Seamen	1,040,000
Ordinary of the navy	424,019
Building, Rebuilding, and Repairing Ships	421,554
	1,885,573

1522 invalids,† for Great-Britain, Jerſey, and Guernſey were voted. Five hundred pounds to the Turkey Company; 2000l. towards building a bridge acroſs the Thames; 8750l. to John Harriſon, as a farther reward and encouragement for his invention of a time-keeper; 2000l. to Dr. Richard Williams, for the diſcovery of the ſecret whereby cotton, yarns, and thread receive a faſt green and yellow dye. The whole amount of the ſupplies for the year 1773 was, 6,980,210l. The produce of the ſinking fund was applied up to the 5th of April 1773, and the ſum of 2,349,806l. was charged on that fund, which was about half a million more than the laſt year. The exceſs of the proviſions was eſtimated at more than half a million, as in the preceding year; but ſo erroneous had been that calculation, that a deficiency of 21,085l. was now to be good. Upon the whole, inſtead of a million and a half of the national debt being diſcharged, according to the financier's project in the laſt ſeſſion, no part of the funded debt was annihilated; 800,000l. in exchequer bills was indeed reduced, (thoſe created for the uſe of the Eaſt-India Company, being no more than lending the public credit) but we have ſeen that the future produce of the ſinking fund, was, on the other hand, ſtaked for half a million beyond the former year. How little are the

† The expence of the military eſtabliſhment, including forces and garriſons, in Europe, Africa, the Ceded Iſlands, and North America, was as follows:

Army, Ordnance, Greenwich Hoſpital, &c.	1,390,204
Half-pay	112,903
Army extraordinaries	249,708
	1,752,815

the declarations of the prime miniſter attended to, even in the moſt important branch of his department! An end was put to this long and important ſeſſion on the 1ſt of July, and Lord North having completely triumphed in the conteſt with the Eaſt-India Company, repaired to Oxford, to be inveſted with the new dignity of chancellor of that univerſity, and to preſide at the Encænia there held in honour of that event.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Meridian ſplendor of Lord North's Adminiſtration—Comparative view of the American Colonies and the mother Country———Diſcovery of letters written by the governor and lieutenant-governor of the Moſſachuſett's Bay—The houſe of repreſentatives petition the king to remove thoſe officers—Report of the privy council thereupon—Tea deſtroyed at Boſton—General conduct of the Americans on the arrival of the teas—Meeting of parliament—Meſſage from his Majeſty—Bill for ſhutting up the port of Boſton—Regulation of the government in the province of the Maſſachuſett's Bay—Debate on a motion to repeal the duty on tea—Bill for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice—Lord North's plan of finance for the year 1774—Quebec act———Death of the King of France—American congreſs formed—Petition to the King———Sudden diſſolution of parliament————Probable cauſes which led to it.

THE period at which we are now arrived, is the meridian ſplendor of Lord North's Miniſtry; his conqueſts in the Eaſt were as extenſive as thoſe of Alexander, and effected with no leſs rapidity; but then he needed not, like that monarch, to weep that he had no other world to conquer, the weſtern hemiſphere opened to his view a proſpect different indeed, but not leſs extenſive, and equally demanding the abilities of a great miniſter. A controling power over two ſuch extenſive, rich, fruitful, and populous territories, as Hindoſtan and North America, conveys a ſtupendous idea of human authority and power, which no other country ever poſſeſſed, and which

no other miniſter ever exerciſed. The points to be attained in the different countries, were as oppoſite as the climate which prevailed in each. In the Eaſt-Indies the object was, to repreſs a ſpirit of rapacity, oppreſſion, and tyranny, which led men in power to violate the rights of humanity without remorſe or limitation; in the weſtern region, the profeſſed purpoſe was, to check and repreſs an exuberance of freedom, proceeding from active induſtry, unaſſuming equality, and general happineſs. We have already ſeen the conduct purſued towards our eaſtern poſſeſſions, it remains that we now ſpeak of the other ſection of the globe.

The Colonies and Mother Country preſented, at this time, in ſtrong oppoſition, the lineaments of their different ages. Great-Britain, grown old in proſperity, become wealthy, proud, aſſuming: impatient of every reſtraint, or of the ſlighteſt contravertion of her mandates, but at the ſame time, improvident and laviſh. An apoſtate from thoſe principles to which ſhe had been habitually attached: indifferent to the welfare of others, miſtaken in what conſtituted her own. America, on the other hand, riſing in all the vigour of advancing maturity, without ſpecie, but rich in the products of a genial ſoil, the labours of a hardy race of ſeamen, and a growing commerce. The want of the precious metals, though attended with ſome inconveniencies, contributed greatly to fix the character and manners of the people. It ſerved to place happineſs rather in what was to be enjoyed, than in what was to be amaſſed. Avarice appeared in all its deformity in the eyes of a people who had no titled greatneſs to aſpire to, and with whom, honeſt induſtry was a ſecurity againſt extreme neceſ-

ſity. In ſuch a country, and in ſuch an age, a man poſſeſſing a philoſophic and reflecting mind would wiſh to live; and there have been times, in which it would have been conſidered as the glory and happineſs of a prince to reign over ſubjects ſo free, ſo increaſing, and ſo happy, ere the ſcience of finance gave oppreſſion a new form. But America was much more at her eaſe than England, and ſhe muſt be brought to contribute a reaſonable proportion to the neceſſities of the preſent ſtate, whence originated the beloved idea of ſubjecting America to internal taxation. Her population too increaſed in a more rapid degree than any other country had been known to do. According to eſtimates made, which have never been controverted, ſome of the North American Colonies double their inhabitants in ſixteen years, whilſt the population of the Britiſh Iſles is not ſuppoſed to be on the advance. From hence it was ſelf-evident, that the Colonies in a much ſhorter time than fifty years, would be equal in population to the mother-country, perhaps much more populous; and when arrived at ſuch an height, what probability was there that the preſent ſubordination would continue!

So long ago as the year 1733,* an act was paſſed, which laid certain duties on all foreign ſpirits, moloſſes, and ſugars imported into the plantations; theſe impoſts were ſubmitted to, and the diſtinction between commercial regulations and internal taxation was not dwelt on, until the fatal introduction of the ſtamp-act; which, upon every principle of natural intereſt, without

* 6 Geo. II.

but conſidering the queſtion of legal right, or the expediency of exerting the power, ſhould either have been inflexibly adhered to, or that kind of taxation abandoned for ever. The evil genius of this country cauſed neither the one nor the other to happen. The ſtamp-act was repealed, and a duty was laid upon teas and various other articles imported into America. This was no more an internal tax than the former one on ſugars, indeed the duties laſt levied were on merchandize from Great-Britain, the others on foreign products; but the Americans choſe ſo to conſider it, and many other cauſes of diſcontent prevailed. Had Great-Britain, at that time, been diſtinguiſhed for public ſpirit, love of liberty, and ſcrupulous attention to a rigid œconomy in the expenditure of public money, the effects of which appeared in ſeizing every proper means of reducing the national debt; and had the Americans been called upon by an adminiſtration purſuing ſuch views, to contribute to ſuch a purpoſe, their feelings would not have revolted from the demand. Indeed, they did not diſpute the propriety of the mother-country making a requiſition, they only aſked to be permitted to raiſe the contribution by acts of their own aſſemblies. Had ſuch a mode been aſſented to here, the oppoſite extremities of the Atlantic would have been united in one common cauſe, and the Britiſh conſtitution would have grown permanent even from age itſelf. Mutual confidence could alone build up ſuch a fabric, for although the two countries were united by common anceſtry, by participating in the ſame free conſtitution of government; by profeſſing the tenets of proteſtantiſm; by commer-

cial and friendly intercourſe, and the exchange of reciprocal benefits, yet they were ſeparated by an ocean of three thouſand miles expanſe; which, whilſt it promoted that amicable commercial intercourſe, created diſtinct intereſts in the two countries, which began to foment jealouſies and mutual diſguſt. Each country reaſoned according to the opinions moſt prevalent there, and every age has its leading ſentiments. The one carried the principles of civil liberty and the natural rights of mankind to a great height; the other was no leſs tenacious of the doctrine of ſubordination to the parent ſtate, and ſubmiſſion to the regulations made by the legiſlature. Had the conteſt ariſen half a century ago, many of the arguments which were urged on each ſide would not then have been produced. A government founded on the principles of freedom, could not poſſibly be brought into a more perplexing ſituation than that, into which the diſpute with the Colonies threw Great-Britain. Perhaps no ſovereign ever ſwayed the ſceptre of theſe realms, that was any way equal to the object to be effected, except Queen Elizabeth. That great princeſs, who came to the throne at a moſt critical period, knew how to accommodate herſelf to the temper of the times. She poſſeſſed all the ſoothing arts which are calculated to perſuade, and knew as well, both when and how, to enforce obedience. She was ſerved by ſome of the ableſt ſtateſmen that this country ever produced, and extended her views more into futurity, than any one of her ſucceſſors, the great Naſſau only excepted.

A general

A general diſſatisfaction prevailed in America, and agreements had been entered into not to import any merchandize from Great-Britain, which had greatly affected the commerce of this country, although theſe engagements were not ſtrictly obſerved on the part of the Americans. Their governors, who were appointed by the crown, but paid by the people, were unanimous in their manner of repreſenting the ſpirit of oppoſition which prevailed among the colonies. In each province contentions between the governor and the houſe of repreſentatives were frequent, and obſtructed the public buſineſs in every ſeſſion. The New England provinces were the moſt forward in theſe diſputes, and in the Maſſachuſett's Bay they aroſe to the greateſt height. There, no terms had been kept for a conſiderable time between Sir Francis Bernard, the governor, and the aſſembly, whilſt each charged the other with being the cauſe of the diſſentions. In the year 1770, that gentleman was recalled, and Mr. Thomas Hutchinſon, a native of America, and lieutenant-governor, ſucceeded him; whereupon Mr. Andrew Oliver, alſo by birth an American, who was ſecretary of the province, became lieutenant-governor. Some letters which were written by theſe gentlemen, to perſons in power and office in England, in the years 1768 and 1769, happened to be procured by Dr. Franklin, who reſided in London as agent for the houſe of repreſentatives of the Maſſachuſett's Bay, and were by him tranſmitted to Boſton. Many paſſages in theſe letters gave great offence to the Boſtonians, particularly the following in one of governor Hutchinſon's letters; "I never think of the meaſures neceſ-

ſary

ſary for the peace and good order of the colonies, without pain. There muſt be an abridgment of what are called Engliſh liberties. I relieve myſelf by conſidering, that in a remove from the ſtate of nature to the moſt perfect ſtate of government, there muſt be a great reſtraint of natural liberty. I doubt whether it is poſſible to project a ſyſtem of government, in which a colony three thouſand miles diſtant from the parent ſtate, ſhall enjoy all the liberty of the parent ſtate. I am certain I have never yet ſeen the projection. I wiſh the good of the colony, when I wiſh to ſee ſome farther reſtraint of liberty, rather than the connection with the parent ſtate ſhould be broken; for I am ſure, ſuch a breach muſt be the ruin of the colony." Speaking of the combination of the American merchants, he ſays, "But it is not poſſible that proviſion for diſſolving theſe combinations, and ſubjecting all who do not renounce them to penalties adequate to the offence, ſhould not be made, the firſt week the parliament meets. Certainly, all parties will unite in ſo extraordinary a caſe, if they never do in any other."

In conſequence of the diſcovery of theſe letters, an addreſs from the repreſentatives of Maſſachuſett's Bay to the King, was tranſmitted from Boſton to their agent, and by him delivered to the American ſecretary *. In it they petition his majeſty to remove their governor and lieutenant-governor, whoſe conduct had a natural and efficacious tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of his majeſty, whom they ſtyle their rightful ſovereign, from his loyal province, and to deſtroy all harmony and good-will between Great-Britain and the colonies. They likewiſe charge

* Auguſt, 1773.

charge their governor and his lieutenant, with having been among the chief inſtruments in introducing a fleet and an army into the province, to eſtabliſh and perpetuate their plans. This addreſs was afterwards laid before a committee of the privy-council, who reported the charges in the petition to be groundleſs, vexatious and ſcandalous, and that the petition ought to be diſmiſſed.

It has been already obſerved, that an act of parliament was paſſed towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, enabling the Eaſt-India Company to export teas duty-free. In conſequence of which, the Company reſolved upon a mode of trade which they had never before adopted, and inſtead of diſpoſing of their teas at public ſale, freighted ſeveral ſhips for the American colonies, on their own account, and appointed agents there for the diſpoſal of their cargoes.

Many ſtrong reaſons were urged againſt this meaſure. It could not be expected to afford the Company any relief from their preſent embarraſſments, as the returns would not be made expeditiouſly, nor perhaps punctually, even if the teas ſhould find as good a market as the moſt ſtrenuous adviſer of the meaſure could expect. But if the exceſs of their ſtock of teas was diſpoſed of at public ſale, the merchants would become purchaſers to a very large amount, and the time of payment could, in that caſe, be aſcertained. It was even calculated, that a ſum of money might be raiſed by that means, ſufficient to extricate the Company from their difficulties. A gentleman diſtinguiſhed for his abilities, and who was well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the Americans, as well as the intereſts of the Company *, told

* Governor Johnſtone.

told the chairman, that the Company were criminally abſurd, becauſe they were preſenting themſelves as the butt in the controverſy, where they would probably come off with the loſs of all their merchandize. However, it was the favourite plan of adminiſtration, that the Company ſhould become their own factors.

Notwithſtanding the colonies actually received their teas at 9d. a pound cheaper than they had formerly done, yet they were not thereby induced to purchaſe them. They ſaid, that the Eaſt-India Company were quitting their uſual line of conduct, and wantonly becoming the inſtrument to give efficacy to an odious law. Throughout the colonies, the moſt violent oppoſition to the landing of the teas prevailed, and without any interchange of ſentiment, every port-town along that extenſive coaſt was actuated by the ſame ſpirit.

When the tea-ſhips were expected to arrive, the agents appointed to receive them were compelled to renounce their engagements, and ſolemnly bind themſelves not to act: the people delegated committees in different towns and provinces, to whom they gave the moſt extenſive powers. Merchants were compelled to ſubmit their books to the inſpection of theſe regulators, who aſſumed the power of impoſing teſts, and inflicting puniſhments on ſuch as oppoſed their proceedings. A cuſtom-houſe officer, named Malcolm, was tarred and feathered, and in that manner led about the town of Boſton. Theſe violent meaſures were not confined to thoſe places which had ſhewn the moſt active diſpoſition to contend with the mother-country, the more peaceable and orderly provinces, on this occaſion, departed from their former principles, and became

equally

equally violent in oppoſing the landing of the teas.

When three of the Company's ſhips arrived at Boſton, in December, 1773, the captains, alarmed at the ſpirit which prevailed among the people, offered to return to England, without landing their cargoes, if they could obtain the proper diſcharges from the tea-conſignees, the cuſtom-houſe and the governor: but though theſe officers would not venture to land the tea, yet they refuſed the captains a diſcharge, whilſt their cargoes remained on board, for the delivery of which they were chartered by the Company. The night after the governor had given his refuſal *, a number of armed men, diſguiſed like Mohawk Indians, went on board the ſhips, and, in leſs than four hours, emptied every cheſt of tea on board the ſhips, amounting to three hundred and forty-two, into the ſea, without the leaſt damage done to the ſhips, or any other property; which having done, they retired. It is remarkable, that the governor, the civil power, the garriſon of Fort William, and the armed ſhips in the harbour, were totally inactive on this occaſion †.

At all the other American ports, where tea-ſhips arrived, the inhabitants obliged the captains to return without breaking bulk, (as the people of Boſton were deſirous of doing, except at Charles Town in South Carolina, where the teas were landed

* December 18.

† A letter was afterwards read in the houſe of Commons from Col. Leſlie, who commanded at Boſton at that time, in which he ſaid, that neither the governor, the council, nor any of the cuſtom-houſe officers had applied to him for aſſiſtance. If they had, he could moſt certainly have put a ſtop to all the riots and violences, but not without blood-ſhed, firing upon the town, and killing ſome innocent people.

landed and put into a damp cellar, whereby the whole became rotten and uſeleſs.

On the 13th of January, 1774, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, before the news of this outrage had arrived. In it he obſerved, that the ſtate of foreign affairs afforded full leiſure for the legiſlature to attend to the improvement of our internal and domeſtic ſituation, and to the proſecution of ſuch meaſures as more immediately reſpected the preſervation and advancement of the revenue and commerce of this kingdom: among theſe objects, the ſtate of the gold coin was particularly recommended to the attention of parliament.

The houſe ſat near two months before any meaſures were taken concerning the affairs of America, notwithſtanding the alarming advices which had been received from thence ſoon after its aſſembling. At length the premier delivered a meſſage from his majeſty *, informing the houſe, "that in conſequence of the unwarantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boſton, with a view of obſtructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately ſubverſive of the conſtitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament; fully confiding, as well in their zeal for the maintainance of his majeſty's authority, as in their attachment to the common intereſt and welfare of all his dominions; that they would not only enable him effectually to take ſuch meaſures, as may be moſt likely to put an immediate ſtop to theſe diſorders, but would

* March 7, 1774.

would alſo take into their moſt ſerious conſideration, what farther regulations and permanent proviſions may be neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed, for better ſecuring the execution of the laws, and the juſt dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great-Britain."

Immediately after the delivery of this meſſage, upwards of one hundred papers reſpecting American affairs were brought up; they conſiſted of copies and extracts of letters from the different magiſtrates and officers in America; the votes and reſolutions of the inhabitants of Boſton, with many other authentic documents. An addreſs being returned to his majeſty, ſtrongly expreſſing the readineſs of the houſe to comply with the purport of the royal meſſage, the miniſter ſoon after * moved for leave to bring in a bill, "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection and management of his majeſty's duties and cuſtoms, from the town of Boſton, in the province of the Maſſachuſett's-bay, in North America; and to diſcontinue the landing and diſcharging, lading and ſhipping of goods, wares and merchandize at the ſaid town of Boſton, or within the harbour thereof." His lordſhip entered into a juſtification of the governor's conduct, whom he deſcribed to have taken every method which diſcretion dictated, or good policy authorized, for the ſecurity of the Eaſt-India Company's property, the ſafety of the conſignees, and the preſerving of order and quiet in the town. The military force in the caſtle, and

* March 14,

and the ſhips of war in the harbour, might indeed have been called in to ſave the tea from deſtruction; but as the leading men in Boſton had always made great complaints of the interpoſition of the army and navy, and charged all diſturbances of every ſort to their account; he with great prudence and temperance, determined, from the beginning, to decline a meaſure, which would have been ſo irritating to the minds of the people; and might well have hoped, that by this confidence in their conduct, and truſt repoſed in the civil power, he ſhould have calmed their turbulence, and preſerved the public tranquillity.

He ſaid it was henceforth impoſſible for our commerce to be ſafe in the harbour of Boſton, and it was highly neceſſary that ſome port ſhould be found for the landing of our merchandize. That it was no new thing for a whole town to be fined, although thereby ſome few innocent individuals might ſuffer, when the authority of ſuch a town had been, as it were, aſleep and inactive. He inſtanced the city of London in king Charles II. time, when Dr. Lamb was killed by unknown perſons, the city was fined for it;* and the caſe of Edinburgh, in

* The fine impoſed was 6000 l. His lordſhip herein committed an anachroniſm, it happened in the reign of Charles I. in the year 1628. Lamb, a creature of the Duke of Buckingham, at the time when the houſe of Commons were framing a remonſtrance to the throne againſt that favourite, and which occaſioned the haſty prorogation of parliament, was ſet upon in the ſtreets of London by the rabble, and ſo roughly beat, that he died of his bruiſes the next morning. In conſequence of

in Captain Porteous's affair, when a fine was ſet upon the whole city; and alſo at Glaſgow, where the houſe of Mr. Campbell was pulled down, part of the revenue of the town was ſequeſtered to make good the damage. Boſton, he obſerved, was much more criminal than either of the three cities he had mentioned, for that town had been upwards of ſeven years in riot and confuſion; all the diſturbances in America, he ſaid, had originated there.

The

of which, the Lord-mayor and Aldermen were ſent for to appear at the council table, and were there examined; and at firſt threatened that they ſhould loſe their charter, if they did not diſcover and deliver up, the principal agents in the uproar; however, the offence was afterwards expiated by a fine. *Kennet*, *Echard*, *Hume*, take no notice of this tranſaction.

Buckingham about two months after was ſtabbed at Portſmouth.

The propriety of adducing this inſtance of amercement, to juſtify a meaſure ſtill more violent, although carried into execution, in an age when the rights of individuals, as well as of public bodies, were fully aſcertained, may be ſtrongly objected to. It is authentically tranſmitted to us, that Sir Francis Seymour, a member of the houſe of Commons, not many days before this riot, had ſaid in that aſſembly, when the ſupplies had been debated upon, "How can we ſpeak of giving, till we know whether we have any thing to give; for if his majeſty may be perſuaded to take what he will, what need we give?" He then enumerated the arbitrary acts which had been exerciſed againſt the ſubject, and ſaid, "To countenance theſe proceedings, hath it not been preached, in the pulpit, or rather prated, *that all we have is the King's by divine right?*" And Sir Robert Philips on the ſame occaſion, ſaid, "The grievances by which we are oppreſſed, I draw under two heads; acts of power againſt law, and the judgment of lawyers againſt our liberty." *Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections*, Vol. I. *Franklyn's Annals.*

The lord-mayor of London * preſented a petition of ſeveral natives and inhabitants of North America, then in London, which ſtated it to be an inviolable rule of natural juſtice, that no man ſhould be condemned unheard; and that according to law, no perſon or perſons can be judged without being called upon to anſwer, and being permitted to hear the evidence againſt them, and to make their defence. If judgment be immediately to follow an accuſation againſt the people of America, ſupported by perſons notoriouſly at enmity with them, the accuſed unacquainted with the charge, and from the nature of their ſituation utterly incapable of anſwering and defending themſelves, every fence againſt falſe accuſation will be pulled down. They aſked, by what rule of juſtice can the town be puniſhed for a civil injury, committed by perſons not known to belong to it? The petitioners conceive that there is not an inſtance, even in the moſt arbitrary times, in which a city was puniſhed by parliamentary authority without being heard, for a civil offence, not committed within their juriſdiction, and without redreſs having been ſought at common law. The inſtance brought of the city of London, was for a murder committed within its walls, by its citizens, in open day: but in this caſe, arbitrary as the times were, the trial was public; in a court of common law, the party heard, and the law laid down by the Judges. In the caſe of Edinburgh indeed, parliament did interpoſe; but this was to puniſh the commiſſion of an atrocious murder, within

* Mr. Bull.

within her gates; and aggravated by an overt act of high treaſon, in executing, againſt the expreſs will of the crown, the king's laws. Both theſe cities had by charter, the whole executive power within themſelves; and in both caſes, full time was allowed them to diſcharge their duty, and they were heard in their defence. But neither has time been allowed in this caſe, nor is the accuſed heard, nor is Boſton a walled town, nor was the fact committed within it; nor is the executive power in its hands, as it is in thoſe of London and Edinburgh. On the contrary, the governor himſelf holds that power, and has been adviſed by his majeſty's council to carry it into execution. If it has been neglected, he alone is anſwerable: and perhaps, the due courſe of law is operating there to the diſcovery and proſecution of the real offenders. The petition ſtrongly inſiſted on the exceſſive rigour and injuſtice of the act, its tendency to alienate the affections of America from this country, and that her attachments cannot long ſurvive the juſtice of Great Britain.

The reply to the pleas urged in this petition was, that the caſe called for immediate redreſs; it was unbecoming the dignity of parliament, to ſuffer chicane and ſubterfuge to evade the execution of ſubſtantial juſtice. It was aſked, if the houſe doubted either the reality or degree of the offence, or of their own competency to enquire into and puniſh it? Lord North would not undertake to ſay what would be the conſequence or event of this meaſure, but he was ſtrongly of opinion it would be ſalutary and effectual.

Little

Little oppoſition was ſhewn to the bill at its introduction, but on its third reading, ſtrong efforts were made to change the ſentiments of the houſe.

Governor Johnſtone predicted to the houſe, that the effect of this bill muſt be a general confederacy to reſiſt the power of this country. He called it, irritating, tempting, nay inviting men to thoſe deeds by ineffectual expedients; the aberrations of an undeciſive mind, incapable of comprehending the chain of conſequences which muſt reſult from ſuch a law. The queſtion of taxing America, he ſaid, was ſufficiently nice to palliate reſiſtance, if the ſubject had never been diſputed in this country: but after the higheſt characters of the ſtate had declared againſt the right of this country to impoſe taxes on America, for the purpoſe of revenue; after the general voice of the ſenate had concurred in repealing the ſtamp-act upon that principle, there is ſo much mitigation to be pleaded in favour of the Americans from this circumſtance, allowing them in an error at preſent, that it will be the height of cruelty to enforce contrary maxims with any degree of ſeverity, at firſt, before due warning is given. It is in vain to ſay that Boſton is more culpable than the other Colonies. Sending the ſhips away, and obliging them to return to England, is a more ſolemn and deliberate act of reſiſtance than the outrage committed by perſons in diſguiſe, in the night, when the ſhips refuſed to depart. In extending this kind of puniſhment to the other Colonies, every one muſt ſee the danger; and yet, if it can be approved for one, the ſame arguments

ments will apply to others. If a ſimilar puniſhment were applied to the Colony of Virginia, the revenue would be reduced 300,000l. a year, beſides the loſs of all foreign contracts, and perhaps, of that beneficial trade for ever. Thoſe gentlemen, he continued, who are in the ſecrets of the cabinet, and know how aſſuredly every propoſition from thence is adopted by this houſe, may be warranted in their ſanguine acclamations in favour of this meaſure; but the general maſs, who muſt be equally ignorant with myſelf of what is to follow, can have no excuſe for giving their aſſent ſo readily for puniſhing their fellow ſubjects in ſo unprecedented a manner; and their eager zeal ſerves only to ſhew, how ready they are to obey the will of another without exerciſing their own judgment in the caſe. My opinion is, that if coercive meaſures are to be adopted, an effectual force ſhould be immediately carried into the heart of the colony reſiſting, to cruſh rebellion in the bud, before a general confederacy can be formed. For my own part, I am convinced from experience in the Colonies, that good government may be maintained there, upon rational grounds, as well as in this country.

That the power of reſtoring the port of Boſton to its former rights ſhould be abſolutely veſted in the crown, was objected to. Is it neceſſary, it was aſked, either for puniſhment of the Boſtonians, or for ſatisfaction to the Eaſt-India Company? Such a regulation could only be made for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a precedent, of delivering over whole towns and communities to an arbitrary diſcretion in the crown. Until now, no precedent could be produced, of a maritime

city being deprived of its port, and then left to the mercy of the crown, to reſtore the port or not, at pleaſure.

No diviſion took place, and the bill was immediately carried to the Lords *.

In the debate on this bill, Mr. Charles Fox appeared, for the firſt time, among the minority. In the courſe of this ſeſſion he had ſhewn himſelf adverſe to the opinions of the firſt lord of the treaſury, and about the time when this bill began to be agitated, he quitted his ſeat at the treaſury.

In the houſe of Lords, the Earl of Shelburne took an active part in oppoſing the bill. He preſented to that houſe a ſimilar petition to that which had been laid before the houſe of Commons, from the natives of America reſiding in and about London. The bill was ſupported by the Lords Mansfield, Gower, Lyttelton, Weymouth, and Suffolk, and oppoſed by the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Lords Camden, Shelburne, and Stair. It paſſed the houſe the 30th of March, only five days after it was brought in, and received the royal aſſent the next day.

The bill enacted, that from and after the firſt of June 1774, it ſhall not be lawful for any perſon, to ſhip for exportation, goods from any quay, or wharf, within the town or harbour of Boſton, nor are goods, wares, or merchandize, brought from any other country, to be landed there, under pain of the forfeiture of the ſaid goods, and of the boat, lighter, or veſſel, out of which they may be taken. Fourteen days allowed

* March 25, 1774.

lowed to ſuch ſhips or veſſels as may happen to be in the harbour of Boſton, on or before the firſt of June. When it ſhall be made to appear to his majeſty in council, that peace and obedience to the laws ſhall be ſo far reſtored in the town of Boſton, as that the trade of Great-Britain may be ſafely carried on there, and the cuſtoms duly collected; if his majeſty in council ſhall judge the ſame to be true, he may, by proclamation, or order of council, aſſign and appoint the extent, bounds, and limits of the port or harbour of Boſton, and of every creek or haven within the ſame; and ſo many quays and wharfs for the landing and ſhipping of goods as he ſhall judge fit and expedient, after which it ſhall again become a port. But this reſtoration of the privileges of the port of Boſton, his majeſty is not empowered to grant, until full ſatisfaction has been made to the Eaſt-India Company, by the inhabitants of Boſton, for the damage ſuſtained by the deſtruction of their goods; and to the officers of revenue and others, who ſuffered by the riots and inſurrections, in the ſeveral months of November, December, and January.

Whilſt the Boſton port bill was depending in the houſe of Lords, the prime miniſter, in the other houſe, proceeded farther to develope the plan concerted by government for the ſubjugation of the refractory Colonies, by moving for leave to bring in a bill relative to the Maſſachuſett's bay, and the houſe being reſolved into a committee *, his lordſhip introduced the bill, by ſaying, " that an executive power was much

* April 15.

wanted in that province, and that it became highly neceſſary to ſtrengthen the hands of magiſtracy there. The force of civil power conſiſted in the *poſſe comitatus*, which was compoſed of the very people who had committed all the riots and outrages which had happened for many years paſt; ſo that the preſervation of the peace, was not to be looked for from them; and if the democratic part ſhew that contempt of the laws, how is the governor to execute any authority veſted in him? He has not the power of appointing magiſtrates or of removing them; the council alone have that power, and they are dependent on the people. His lordſhip inferred from thence, that there was ſomething radically wrong in that conſtitution. If the governor iſſued out a proclamation, there could hardly be found a magiſtrate to obey it, and it was neceſſary to have the concurrence of ſeven of the council to give validity to an act of the governor. Where there is ſuch a want of civil authority, can it be ſuppoſed that the military, be they ever ſo numerous, con be of the leaſt ſervice? For, continued his lordſhip, I ſhall always conſider a military power, acting under the authority and control of a civil magiſtrate, as a part of the conſtitution; but the military alone, ought not to act, and cannot do ſo legally."

He propoſed by this bill to take the executive power from the hands of the democratic part of the government in that province, and that the governor ſhould act as a juſtice of peace, and that he ſhould have the power to appoint the officers throughout the whole civil eſtabliſhment; ſuch as the ſheriffs, provoſts, marſhals, &c. the chief juſtice and judges of the ſupreme

court

court excepted. All which officers ſhould be removeable by his majeſty. Town meetings to be declared illegal, unleſs held by the ſpecial conſent of the governor, upon the annual election of certain officers which it is the people's province to chooſe. He propoſed to put juries upon a different footing, which regulation he acknowledged to have been ſuggeſted by Lord George Germain *. Theſe regulations he apprehended would effectually purge that conſtitution of all its crudities, and give ſtrength and ſpirit to the civil magiſtracy, and to the executive power †.

With a view to qualify theſe ſevere acts, ſome members in the houſe of Commons, who had aſſented to the Boſton port bill, particularly Mr. Roſe Fuller and the Hon. Con. Phipps, were of opinion, that ſomething of a conciliatory and

* This noble lord had renounced the hereſies of oppoſition, and become a convert to the eſtabliſhed political faith, two ſeſſions before.

† His lordſhip, by adopting the principle of this bill, went ſomething farther than his great grand-father had done in the year 1683. For, when the court was at that time reſolved on depriving the City of London of its charter, the merits of the cauſe was ſolemnly argued before the judges of the court of King's-bench, who declared the liberties and privileges of the city, forfeited, and that they might be ſeized into the king's hand. In conſequence of this ſentence, the charter of the city was ſurrendered, which the Lord Keeper North, in the king's name, reſtored; but under ſuch ſevere reſtrictions, particularly with reſpect to the choice of the lord mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs, as left the king abſolute maſter of the government of the City of London. The tranſaction is related at large by Rapin. The city's charter was reſtored, in its fulleſt extent, at the revolution, and an act of parliament paſſed to prevent its being reaſſumed by the crown.

and redreſſing nature ſhould accompany them, as a probable means of rendering them efficacious. The advocates for ſuch a meaſure pleaded, that parliament, whilſt it reſented the outrages of the American populace, ought not to ſhew a diſpoſition to irritate the orderly and well-affected part of the Colonies. That if ſuch had ſatisfaction in the matter of taxes, they would become inſtrumental in reſtraining the inferior and more turbulent from outrages; and this ſacrifice to peace would be at very little expence, as the produce of the tax was of no importance to Great-Britain. Such arguments were meant to pave the way for a motion to repeal the duty upon tea. The debate chiefly turned upon the policy of the repeal at this particular time.

Lord North denied that the tax was an inconſiderable revenue, and ſtrongly contended that no acts of lenity ſhould accompany their reſtrictive acts. To repeal at this time, would ſhew ſuch a degree of wavering and inconſiſtency, as would defeat the good effects of the vigorous plan, which, after too long remiſſneſs, was at length adopted. Parliament ought to ſhew that it will relax in none of its juſt rights, but enforce them in a practical way. The legiſlature ought to ſhew, that it is provided with ſufficient means of making itſelf obeyed whenever it is reſiſted. If the tax upon tea is repealed, other demands will be made on the part of America, which as ſoon as complied with, will be followed by others, until even America herſelf is ſurrendered. If the houſe perſiſted in that wholeſome ſeverity which it had begun to exerciſe, there was no doubt but obedience on the part of the Americans would be the reſult; let but Great-Britain

maintain

maintain her rights with firmneſs, then peace and quiet will ſoon be reſtored.

The houſe divided upon the queſtion, whether a committee ſhould be appointed to take into conſideration the repeal of the duty; Ayes 49, Noes 183.

This queſtion being diſmiſſed, the houſe proceeded to the ſecond reading of the bill for regulating the government of the Maſſachuſett's-bay. In ſupport of it, Mr. Welbore Ellis, aſſerted, that it was the duty of the crown to take away or alter charters, if they were found deficient of the purpoſe intended. That the American papers on the table were ſufficient evidence of the fact, and that it was not neceſſary for any farther hearing on either ſide. Great inconveniencies, he ſaid, had ariſen from the preſent form of government, which frequently retarded buſineſs, but which would be removed by this bill. Mr. Charles Jenkinſon ſaid, it was right to take away charters if they were abuſed; and to govern the Americans, as they were not capable of governing themſelves. Mr. Jeremiah Dyſon, contended, that the houſe proceeded, not as a court of juſtice, but in their legiſlative capacity, regulating and ſupplying the deficiencies in charters which had been granted by the crown.

On the other ſide, General Conway pleaded, that the Americans had done no more than every ſubject would do in an arbitrary ſtate, where laws are impoſed againſt their will. He thought taxation and legiſlation in that caſe inconſiſtent; and aſked, have you not a legiſlative right over Ireland? Yet no one will ſay we have a right to tax Ireland. He predicted, that theſe acts reſpecting America, would involve this country and its mi-

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niſter in misfortunes, and he wiſhed it might not be added, in ruin.

Mr. Pownall, who had been ſome years governor of Maſſachuſett's-bay, ſpoke ably on the form of government in that province, and concluded with characterizing the Americans as a conſcientious, religious, peaceable ſett of people; and added, that a more reſpectable ſett of men did not exiſt in all his majeſty's dominions.

Sir Edward Aſtley hoped, that if we had had a twelve years lenity and inactivity, we ſhould not now proceed to have a twelve years cruelty and oppreſſion. He deemed the meaſure to be a harſh one, and unworthy of a Britiſh legiſlature.

Mr. Dowdeſwell pleaded ſtrongly and ably that the province ſhould be heard, before an act was paſſed, which would entirely deprive it of its chartered rights. He preſented a petition from Mr. Bollan, agent for the council of the province, praying that the bill might not paſs into a law, until he ſhould have time to receive anſwers from thence to letters which he had ſent. The prayer of this petition, he ſaid, was ſo perfectly reaſonable, that it appeared impoſſible to be rejected out of the court of the inquiſition. The petition was rejected. The bill was carried on the ſecond reading without a diviſion.

Lord North then propoſed a third bill, which he hoped would effectually ſecure the province of Maſſachuſett's-bay from future diſturbances. He ſaid, the juries of that country were not eſtabliſhed after the manner in which our juries here are; and therefore were not ſo likely to give to each offender that impartial trial, which, by the laws of this country he was entitled to. By the bill which he meant to propoſe, whenever it ſhould be found

found in that country, that a man is not likely to meet with a fair impartial trial, the governor ſhould be empowered to ſend him to any of the other colonies, where the ſame kind of ſpirit has not prevailed; but if it ſhould be thought that he cannot have a fair and impartial trial in any of the Colonies, in ſuch a caſe, the party accuſed ſhall be ſent to Great-Britain, to be tried before the Court of King's-bench; the expences of which trial, to be drawn for on the cuſtoms of England. Such a meaſure, he truſted, would ſhew to America, that this nation is rouſed to defend its rights, and to maintain the peace and ſecurity of its Colonies; and when rouſed, that the meaſures taken are not cruel nor vindictive, but neceſſary and efficacious, His lordſhip propoſed, that the bill ſhould continue in force for three years, and declared it to be the laſt meaſure that parliament would take: after which, it required, that his majeſty's ſervants there ſhould be vigilant in the execution of their duty, and keep a watchful eye over every encroachment upon theſe newly created powers, and not ſuffer the leaſt degree of diſobedience to their meaſures to take place in that country. The cuſtomary relief of troops, he ſaid, which was four regiments, were ordered for Boſton; and General Gage would go out with them as commander in chief, and governor of the province. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill, "for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, in the caſes of perſons queſtioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws for the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, in the province of Maſſachuſett's-bay in New England; and produced precedents, to warrant the meaſure, which were, that the *habeas corpus* act had been ſuſpend-

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ed in the year 1745. That ſmugglers apprehended for offences committed on the coaſt of Suſſex, had been made triable in the county of Middleſex, and the Scotch rebels in England.

The oppoſition denied the neceſſity of this act, even on the ſuppoſition, that juſtice might be perverted in New England; becauſe, in ſuch caſes, the prerogative of the crown might ſtep in, and the governor might reprieve any one, who appeared to be convicted illegally or unjuſtly.

Colonel Barré declared he roſe with great unwillingneſs to oppoſe this bill in its very infancy, before its features were well formed, and to claim that attention, which the houſe ſeemed to beſtow with great reluctance on any arguments in behalf of America. Whilſt their proceedings, ſevere as they were, had the leaſt colour of juſtice, he ſaid, he deſiſted from oppoſing them; and although the bill for ſhutting up the port of Boſton, contained in it many things moſt cruel, unwarrantable, and unjuſt, yet as it was couched under thoſe general principles of juſtice, retribution for injury, and compenſation for loſs ſuſtained, he deſiſted from oppoſing it. The bill was a bad way of doing what was right, but ſtill it was doing what was right. As to the bill then before the houſe, he pronounced it to be unprecedented to any former proceedings of parliament; and unwarranted by any delay, denial, or perverſion of juſtice in America. It was ſo big with oppreſſion and miſery to that country, and with danger to this, that the firſt bluſh of it was ſufficient to alarm and rouſe him to oppoſition. It went to ſtigmatize a whole people as

perſecutors

perſecutors of innocence, and men incapable of doing juſtice, without a ſingle fact being produced, on which to ground the imputation. On the contrary, the inſtances which have happened, are direct confutations of ſuch charges. The caſe of Capt. Preſton was recent; this officer and ſome ſoldiers had been indicted at Boſton for murder, in killing ſome perſons in the ſuppreſſion of a riot; they were fairly tried and fully acquitted. It was an American jury, a New-England jury, a Boſton jury, which tried and acquitted them. Capt. Preſton has under his hand, publicly declared, that the inhabitants of the very town where their fellow-citizens had been ſlain, acquitted him. This is the very caſe the act ſuppoſes. Is this the return made them? Is this the encouragement given them to perſevere in ſo laudable a ſpirit of juſtice and moderation? He denied that the caſes of trials for ſmuggling, and of reaſon in the laſt rebellion, did at all apply to the preſent caſe, beeauſe the inconveniencies of proſecution or defence, was comparatively inſignificant, on account of the little diſtance to which the trials were removed. He took notice of Lord North's expreſſion, "we muſt ſhew the Americans, that we will no longer ſit quiet under their inſults," and called it mere declamation, unbecoming the character and place of him who uttered it. He aſked, in what moment have you been quiet? Has not your government for many years paſt been a ſeries of irritating and offenſive meaſures, without policy, principles, or moderation? Have not your troops and your ſhips made a vain and inſulting parade in their ſtreets and in their harbours? It

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has ſeemed to be your ſtudy to irritate and inflame them. You have ſtimulated their diſcontents into diſaffection, and you are now goading their diſaffection into rebellion. Can you expect to be well informed when you liſten only to partizans? Can you expect to do juſtice, when you will not hear the accuſed?

After having endeavoured to ſhew that the bill was without precedent to ſupport it, or facts to warrant it, he proceeded to repreſent the conſequences which it was likely to produce. A ſoldier feels himſelf ſo much above the reſt of mankind, that the ſtrict hand of the civil power is neceſſary to check and reſtrain the haughtineſs of diſpoſition which ſuch ſuperiority inſpires. What conſtant care is taken in this country, to remind the military that they are under the reſtraint of the civil power! In America, their ſuperiority is felt ſtill more. Remove the check of the law, as this bill propoſes, and what inſolence, what outrage, may you not expect? Every paſſion that is pernicious to ſociety, will be let looſe upon a people unaccuſtomed to licentiouſneſs and intemperance. Theſe people, who have been long complaining of oppreſſion, will ſee in the ſoldiery thoſe who are to enforce it upon them; whilſt the military, ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the idea of that people being rebellious, unawed by the civil power, and actuated by that arbitrary ſpirit which prevails in the beſt troops, will commit violences which might rouſe the tameſt people to reſiſtance, and which the vigilance of their officers cannot effectually reſtrain. The inevitable conſequence will be open rebellion, which you profeſs by this act to obviate. I

have

have been bred a ſoldier, he continued, have ſerved long; I reſpect the profeſſion, and live in the ſtricteſt habits of friendſhip with many officers; but there is not a country gentleman of you all, who looks upon the army with a jealous eye, or would more ſtrenuouſly reſiſt the making them independent of the civil power than myſelf. No man is to be truſted in ſuch a ſituation. It is not the fault of the ſoldier, but the vice of human nature, which, unbridled ny law, becomes inſolent and licentious. When I ſtand up an advocate for America, I feel myſelf the firmeſt friend of this country. We owe our greatneſs to the commerce of America. Alienate your Colonies, and you deſtroy the genuine ſupply which nouriſhes your own ſtrength. Let the banners of rebellion be once ſpread in America, and you are an undone people. You are urging this deſperate, this deſtructive iſſue. You are urging it with ſuch violence, and by meaſures tending ſo manifeſtly to that fatal point, that though a ſtate of madneſs only could inſpire ſuch an intention, it would appear to be your deliberate purpoſe. You have changed your ground: you are becoming the aggreſſors, and are offering the laſt of human outrages to the people of America, by ſubjecting them, in effect, to military execution. I know the vaſt ſuperiority of your diſciplined troops over the provincials, but beware how you ſupply the want of diſcipline by deſperation. Inſtead of ſending them the olive-branch, you have ſent the naked ſword. By the olive branch, I mean a repeal of all the late laws, fruitleſs to you and oppreſſive to them. Aſk their aid in a conſtitutional manner,

ner, and they will give it to the utmoſt of their ability. They never yet refuſed it when properly called upon. Your journals bear the recorded acknowledgments of the zeal with which they have contributed to the general neceſſities of the ſtate. They may be flattered into any thing, but they are not to be driven. Have ſome indulgence to your own likeneſs; reſpect their ſturdy Engliſh virtue; retract your odious exertions of authority; and remember,——that the firſt ſtep towards making them contribute to your wants, is to reconcile them to your government.

An old member,* who was very rarely adverſe to miniſtry, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this bill, and concluded his ſpeech with theſe remarkable words: "I will now take my leave of the whole plan. You will commence your ruin from this day. I am ſorry to ſay, that not only the houſe has fallen into this error, but the people approve of the meaſure. The people, I am ſorry to ſay, are miſled. But a ſhort time will prove the evil tendency of this bill. If ever there was a nation running headlong to ruin, it is this."

On the 8th of May Sir George Savile moved, for leave to preſent a petition from the natives of America reſident in London, againſt the two bills then depending, which was admitted.

Therein it was aſſerted, that a charter, ſo granted as that of the 5d of William and Mary to the province of Maſſachuſett's-bay, was never before altered or reſumed, but upon a full and fair hearing; that therefore the preſent proceeding

* Mr Roſs Fuller.

proceeding is totally unconſtitutional, and ſets an example, which renders every charter in Great-Britain and America entirely inſecure. The appointment and removal of the judges at the pleaſure of the governor, with ſalaries payable by the crown, puts the property, liberty, and life of the ſubject, depending on judicial integrity, in his power. The petitioners perceive a ſyſtem of judicial tyranny deliberately at this day impoſed upon them, which, from the bitter experience of its intolerable injuries, has been aboliſhed in this country. It then proceeded to ſtate the objections to the other bill, for the more impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in the province of Maſſachuſett's-bay; many of which were ſimilar to thoſe urged by Colonel Barré, which have been already ſtated. The bill, ſays the petition, by giving a diſpenſing power to the governor, advanced as he is by the former bill above the law, and not liable to any impeachment from the people he may oppreſs, muſt conſtitute him an abſolute tyrant. No hiſtory can ſhew, nor will human nature admit of, an inſtance of general diſcontent, but from a general ſenſe of oppreſſion. The petitioners wiſhed they could poſſibly perceive any difference between the moſt abject ſlavery, and ſuch entire ſubmiſſion to a legiſlature, in the conſtitution of which they have not a ſingle voice, nor the leaſt influence, and in which no one is preſent on their behalf. They regarded the giving their property by their own conſent alone, as the inalienable right of the ſubject, and the ſacred bulwark of conſtitutional liberty: to deprive the Colonies therefore of this right, is to reduce them

to a ſtate of vaſſalage, leaving them nothing they can call their own; nor capable of any acquiſition, but for the benefit of others. They entreated the houſe to conſider, that the reſtraints which the examples of ſuch ſeverity and injuſtice impoſe, are ever attended with the moſt dangerous hatred. In a diſtreſs of mind which could not be deſcribed, the petitioners conjured the houſe, not to convert their zeal and affection, which have hitherto united every American hand and heart in the intereſts of England, into paſſions the moſt painful and pernicious. Moſt earneſtly they beſeeched the houſe not to attempt reducing them to a ſtate of ſlavery, which the Engliſh principles which they inherit from their mother-country, will render worſe than death.—The bill for regulating the government of Maſſachuſett's-bay, was, that ſame day, carried by a majority of almoſt five to one.*

In the houſe of Lords, the abſolute neceſſity of a powerful and ſpeedy remedy for the cure of a government which was ſo totally debilitated as that of Maſſachuſett's-bay, was the chief reaſon aſſigned for the haſte with which the bill was carried through, and for declining to hear evidence at the bar, and from departing from the ordinary rules by which judicial proceedings are regulated. The lords in adminiſtration endeavoured to prove, that the proceſs was not of a penal nature; ſo far from it, that it was beneficial and remedial: they went ſo far as to aſſert it to be a great improvement in the Maſſachuſett's form of government, becauſe it brought it nearer to the Engliſh mo-

del.

* 127 to 26.

del. All theſe aſſumptions were controverted by the minority lords, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill without being able to make any converts to their opinion. It paſſed on the 11th of May, 92 againſt 20. The licentiouſneſs of the people was hereby to be ſuppreſſed by the licentiouſneſs of power. A proteſt was however entered on the journal, which was ſigned by eleven lords.*

In this proteſt it was maintained, that the rights which the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's-bay enjoyed by virtue of their charter, could not be properly taken away, without the definite legal offence by which a forfeiture is incurred being firſt clearly ſtated and fully proved; and the parties affected by ſuch proceedings, ſhould have had notice of the proceſs, in order that they might plead in their own defence. Such a mode of proceeding is not technical formality, but ſubſtantial juſtice. It proceeded to ſay, that if the numerous land and marine forces which were ordered to aſſemble in Maſſachuſett's-bay, were not ſufficient to keep that ſingle colony in any ſtate of order, until the cauſe of its charter can be fairly and equally tried, no regulations in this bill, nor in any other, brought into that houſe, are ſufficient for that purpoſe. Another objection made, was, becauſe the appointment of all the members of the council, which this bill veſted in the crown, is not a proper proviſion for the equilibrium of the colony conſtitution: the crown being empowered to increaſe or leſſen the number of the council, on the report of the governor; which

* Viz. Richmond, Portland, Abingdon, King, Effingham, Ponſonby, Rockingham, Abergavenny, Leinſter, Craven, Fitzwilliam.

tends to deſtroy freedom of deliberation, and wholly to annihilate its uſe. The regulation reſpecting the ſheriffs, was another innovation ſtrongly objected to in this proteſt; the appointment of whom, being by the will of the governor only, and without requiring in the perſon appointed any local or other qualification, and making that officer changeable by the governor and council, as often and for ſuch purpoſes as they ſhall think expedient, is a power which the Britiſh conſtitution has not truſted to his majeſty and his privy-council. Hereby the invaluable right of trial by jury is turned into a ſnare for the people, who have hitherto looked upon it as their main ſecurity againſt the licentiouſneſs of power. It concludes with ſaying, If the force propoſed ſhall have its full effect, that effect, we greatly apprehend, may not continue longer than whilſt the ſword is held up. To render the Colonies permanently advantageous, they muſt be ſatisfied with their condition.

The reception given to the other bill, which went to regulate the adminiſtration of juſtice in Maſſachuſett's-bay, in the houſe of Lords, was ſimilar to that which changed the nature of its government, where it was carried through 43 to 12.* The minority lords on this occaſion likewiſe entered a very ſtrong proteſt, † in which they aſſigned, among other reaſons for their diſſent from the bill, that after the proſcription of

* May 18, 1774.

† The proteſting lords were Richmond, Fitzwilliam, Ponſonby, Rockingham, Portland, Craven, Leinſter, Manchester.

of the port of Boſton, the diſfranchiſement of the colony of Maſſachuſett's-bay, and the variety of proviſions which have been made in the ſeſſion for new-modelling the whole polity and judicature there, this bill is an humiliating confeſſion of the weakneſs and inefficacy of all the proceedings of parliament, by ſuppoſing that it may be impracticable, by any means which the public wiſdom could deviſe, to obtain a fair trial there for any who act under government. By the bill therefore it is virtually acknowledged, that the Britiſh government is univerſally odious to the whole province; and that it is, or may become, hateful to all the Colonies: which is to publiſh to all the world, in terms the moſt emphatical, the little confidence the ſupreme legiſlature repoſes in the affections of ſo large and ſo important a part of the Britiſh empire. The bill therefore amounts to a declaration, that the two houſes of parliament know no means of retaining the Colonies in due obedience, but by an army rendered independent of the ordinary courſe of law in the place where they are employed. They likewiſe diſſent, becauſe they think that a military force ſufficient for governing upon this plan, cannot be maintained without the inevitable ruin of the nation: and laſtly, becauſe the bill ſeems to be one of the many experiments towards an introduction of eſſential innovations into the government of the empire.

On the day that this bill paſſed the houſe of Lords, the firſt lord of the treaſury entered on the annual buſineſs of finance in the lower houſe. Twenty thouſand ſeamen had been voted for

the year 1774, including four thouſand three hundred and fifty four marines, the expence of which was ſtated to be 1,040,000 l. The ordinary of the navy, and building, rebuilding, and repairing ſhips, amounted together to 864,917 l. A navy-debt of 200,000 l. was alſo diſcharged. The land forces for Great-Britain, Guernſey and Jerſey, amounted to eighteen thouſand and twenty-four effective men, including one thouſand five hundred and twenty-two invalids; the expence of which was rated at 638,630 l. The whole amount of military eſtabliſhments in Africa, North America, and Europe, the out-penſioners in Chelſea Hoſpital, penſions to officers widows, ordnance and ordnance-debt, including the above ſum, was 1,532,814 l. The extraordinaries of the army amounted to 288,030 l. A million of 3 per cent. annuities was diſcharged and annihilated, at 88 per cent. no one perſon to ſubſcribe to a larger ſum than 5000 l. ſtock.* For calling in and recoining the deficient

* The ſame ſtocks were ſelected on this occaſion as in the year 1772, when a million and a half was paid off, (ſee page 74) viz. annuities conſolidated by act of parliament of the 25th, 28th, 29th, 32d and 33d years of George II. and ſeveral ſubſequent acts, payable and transferable at the Bank. Alſo annuities conſolidated by the acts of the 25th of George II. and the 5th of George III. called reduced annuities, payable at the ſame place. Likewiſe old and new South-Sea annuities.

The price which the ſtock negotiable at the Bank bore in May 1774, was 86 $\frac{1}{4}$, that at the South-Sea Houſe 84 $\frac{1}{2}$, the diſproportion varying only a quarter per cent. from what it was two years before; during which time ſtocks had fallen more than 2 per cent. The douceur of ſix lottery tickets was worth 3 l. Theſe terms were better to the ſubſcribers by one per cent. than the former.

deficient gold 250,000l. The miſcellaneous ſervice was ſtated at 60,251l.* A million of Exchequer bills was paid off. The whole amount of the ſupplies was given in at 6,159,661l. The ways and means for providing this ſum were as follow. The land-tax and malt duties ſtood as in former yearss, the amount of both of which was rated at 2,250,000l. The balance from the ſinking-fund on the 5th of January 1774, after it had yielded the ſum charged thereon laſt year, was 113,190l. The quarterly produce of the ſinking-fund, ending the 5th of April, 1774, amounted to 619,303l. One million two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were raiſed by Exchequer bills. A lottery, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand tickets, was diſtributed among the holders

* The particulars of which were as follow, viz.

	£
New roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland	6998
To the Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum	2000
General Surveys in North America —	2085
Civil Eſtabliſhments in Africa, and in Nova Scotia, Georgia, Eaſt and Weſt Florida	23,568
To David Hartley, Eſq; towards defraying the charge of his experiments to aſcertain the practicability and utility of preſerving buildings and ſhips from fire ——	2500
For maintaining and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa	13,000
To make good ſums iſſued by his majeſty's orders, in purſuance of addreſſes of the houſe of Commons —— ——	10,000
	£ 60,251
Beſides which, the intereſt of annuities created in 1758, for the payment of which no fund was eſtabliſhed by parliament, was replaced to the ſinking-fund ——	43,645

holders of the million of ſtock paid off, in the proportion of ſix tickets for every 100l. ſtock, to be paid for at the rate of 12l 10s. each ticket. Six hundred thouſand pounds were diſtributed in prizes, the full amount of which was to be paid in money on the firſt of March 1775. The ſum of 150,000l. was gained by the lottery, which does not appear to be brought in aid of the ſupply. The produce of the ſinking-fund was anticipated 2,080,696l*. Fifteen thouſand pounds were voted of the money receivable in the current year, on the duties and revenues directed by parliament to be reſerved for defraying the neceſſary expences of defending, protecting, and ſecuring the Britiſh Colonies and Plantations in America; for making good ſuch part of the ſupplies as had been granted to his majeſty for maintaining forces and garriſons in the plantations, and for proviſion for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Ceded Iſlands for the year 1774. The overplus of grants for the ſervice of the year 1773, being 126,981l. was applied to the preſent ſupply †. The ſum of 90,936l. was produced by certain duties, ſavings, and monies not applied, which were repaid into the Exchequer. The ways and means were ſtated to amount to 6,546,108l. and to exceed the ſupplies by 386,447l.

Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the houſe of Commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the gold coin. Some regulations reſpecting which had

* Which was 269,110l. leſs than the preceding year: a ſum ſomething more than equivalent to the increaſe of Exchequer bills.

† The exceſs had been computed at 559,149l.

had been made in the preceding ſeſſion, and by a royal proclamation which had been iſſued for that purpoſe. Evidence was given at the bar by ſome of the officers of the Mint, and a gentleman from the Bank, which went to prove the vaſt quantities of gold coin which had been diminiſhed, and many reſolutions were agreed to by the houſe. The deficient coin was called in, without any loſs being ſuſtained by the holders, and a recoinage took place. The whole amount of the gold coin brought into the Mint, in conſequence of the various regulations made in the years 1773 and 1774, amounted to upwards of twenty-three millions. We are told by a celebrated calculator, that in February 1772, four and a half per cent. might be got by melting heavy guineas; gold in coin not being permitted to be exported to any large amount, whilſt bullion was under no prohibition. What encouraged this kind of traffic was, that the balance of trade had been generally againſt us ever ſince the concluſion of the laſt war, ariſing from the increaſe of luxury and the national debt; for by the latter, large ſums were annually ſent out of the kingdom in payment of intereſt. The ſame writer gives it as his opinion, that enough had been done to reſtore the gold coin by the firſt coin act, and that all which was afterwards done, has been nothing but a preparation of the coin for melters and exporters.

A bill had paſſed the houſe of Lords with little notice, and but weak oppoſition*, for the purpoſe of "making more effectual proviſion for the government of the province of Quebec, in North

* It was carried forty one againſt fifteen.

North America," and was brought to the commons on the 18th of May. On the ſecond reading it was very ſtrongly oppoſed.

By his majeſty's proclamation, dated 7th of October 1763, countries, territories, and iſlands, ceded by the peace, were declared to be formed into four diſtinct governments, viz. Quebec, Eaſt Florida, Weſt Florida, and Grenada, by virtue of letters patent, under the great ſeal of Great-Britain; and the reſpective governors were veſted with expreſs power and direction, that as ſoon as the ſtate and condition of the ſaid Colonies would admit thereof, they ſhould, with the advice and conſent of the members of their reſpective provincial councils, ſummon and call the general aſſemblies, within the ſaid governments, reſpectively, in ſuch manner and form as is uſed and directed in thoſe provinces and colonies in America which are under the immediate government of the crown. And the governors were thereby farther empowered, by the conſent of the council and repreſentatives of the people ſo ſummoned, to make, conſtitute, and ordain laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of their colony, *as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England*,, under ſuch reſtrictions and regulations as are uſed in other Colonies. And until ſuch a form of government can be eſtabliſhed, all perſons inhabiting in, or reſorting to theſe Colonies, were aſſured of the royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the Engliſh laws; for which purpoſe courts of judicature were directed to be conſtituted to determine all cauſes, as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, with a right

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of appeal to the king's privy council, under the uſual limitations and reſtrictions.

The Quebec biill went to eſtabliſh moſt important regulations. Its firſt object was to affix new boundaries to the province: in doing which, it, in fact, renounced the claims which had been made by the commiſſioners appointed by the Britiſh court to ſettle with the French the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; for it made the province of Quebec, or Canada, to extend along the ſouthern coaſt of the river St. Laurence, from Chaleur Bay almoſt to Crown Point; to maintain the contrary of which, was the principal bnſineſs of that commiſſion. The bill, in farther deſcribing the new limits to the province, carried them over the whole interior country which lay behind the New England provinces, together with thoſe of New York and Pennſylvania, to the borders of the Ohio. The limits would moſt probably have been extended quite to the back of Georgia, if the charter granted to the province of Virginia had not conveyed the right to all the lands weſtward, quite to the river of Miſſiſſippi; ſo that here the progreſs was ſtopped, and it was ſtruck off weſtward, through no leſs than ten degrees of longitude, to the eaſtern banks of the Miſſiſſippi, from whence it proceeded northward, until it touched the ſouthern boundary of the lands granted to the Hudſon's Bay Company, being from about the fortieth to the fiftieth degree of latitude. Theſe regions, in which nature delights in the majeſtic, include the five great lakes, are much more extenſive than the kingdom of France, and are capable of ſubſiſting a larger number of inhabitants. The other grand object in the bill was, to new model the

government

government of a province, thus extended to the circumference of a mighty empire. It granted the free exercise of the religion of the church of Rome, subject to the king's supremacy; and granted to the clergy of that church, the power of holding, receiving, and enjoying their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such persons only, as shall profess that religion; a right being reserved in his majesty to make such provision out of the rest of the accustomed dues and rights, for the encouragement of the protestant religion, and for the maintenance and support of a protestant clergy within the province, as shall appear necessary and expedient. In all matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights within the province of Quebec, resort to be had to the laws of Canada, as the rule for the decision of the same. The governor, lieutenant-governor, or commander in chief, with the consent of the legislative council, have the power of enacting new laws, except such as lay any tax or duty and repealing or altering old ones, but all such acts must receive the royal approbation to be in force. Real and personal estates might be disposed of by will, if executed either according to the laws of Canada or England. The criminal law of England was, by this bill, continued in the province. The provincial assembly was hereby abolished, by being suspended in the following terms, "and whereas it is at present inexpedient to call an assembly," and the council to consist of no more than twenty-three, or less than seventeen, composed of persons resident in the province, and appointed by the king.

Mr. Dunning called it the most pernicious bill ever offered to parliament. He represented the

form

form of government thereby given to the inhabitants of Canada, as eſſentially the ſame in form, and more liable to abuſe, than the one they had formerly enjoyed under the crown of France; and that the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment granted to them, was intended to cheat them out of their civil liberties as Britiſh ſubjects. It was intended, he ſaid, to operate two ways, firſt, for eſtabliſhing arbitrary power in that vaſt extent of country; and ſecondly, to employ that power, thus modified and rendered obedient to the will of the poſſeſſors, in aſſiſting to overthrow the liberties of America. Mr. Thurlow (Attorney-general) ſtated to the houſe the different governments which had prevailed in Canada from the firſt ſettling in that country by the French; and contended, that it was dangerous, cruel, and unprecedented, to eſtabliſh new laws in a conquered country. General Carleton, Governor of Canada, was examined. He ſhewed the inconſiderable number of proteſtants ſettled in Canada, compared with thoſe who profeſſed the Roman catholic faith. The inhabitants in general, he ſaid, liked the old French laws in preference to the Engliſh form of government; and he was of opinion, the bill then depending would be generally reliſhed. In the progreſs of the buſineſs many other witneſſes were examined; viz. Mr. Hay, chief juſtice of that province; Mr. Mazeres, curſitor-baron of the Exchequer, and late attorney-general there, and agent to the Engliſh inhabitants of Canada; Dr. Marriott, the king's advocate-general in England; Monſ. Lolbiniere, a French gentleman of conſiderable property in Canada. It was propoſed that General Murray, who was the firſt Britiſh governor of the colony, and continued in that capacity ſeveral

veral years, ſhould be ſummoned to attend, but it was over-ruled. The information obtained by theſe witneſſes, was, principally, as to the preference given by the French inhabitants to the French or Engliſh laws; and it ſeemed pretty evident, that different ſentiments prevailed among different ranks and conditions; the gentry made choice of the French code, the middle order and peaſantry preferred the Engliſh laws.

A petition was preſented to the houſe from Thomas and William Penn, owners of a great part of the province of Pennſylvania, repreſenting the great injury their property would receive by the bill, and praying to be heard by counſel. Another petition was preſented, ſigned by ſeveral merchants trading to Canada, which ſet forth, that ſeveral clauſes in the bill would materially affect their property. Counſel was heard at the bar in behalf of both petitions. A petition was likewiſe preſented by the city of London againſt the bill. Serjeant Glynn inſiſted, that it was a breach of the royal promiſe contained in the proclamation in the year 1763, which declared, that all perſons who would go over to Quebec, ſhould be entitled to the ſame laws and protection as they had had in England; whereas the bill before the houſe went to eſtabliſh French laws, and the Roman catholic religion. In reply to the attorney-general, he ſhewed, that it was far from being unprecedented to introduce a new code of laws into a conquered country, Ireland and Wales were proofs thereof.

In ſupport of the bill it was urged, that the laws which regarded perſonal property, and contracts between man and man, were much the ſame in France as in England. The French had

no

no notion of a trial by jury, and diſliked it as an innovation. The treaty of Paris, it was ſaid, had ſecured to the French Canadians the free exerciſe of their religion, as far as was conſiſtent with the laws of England; and our penal laws with reſpect to religion, it was aſſerted, did not extend beyond this kingdom, as the king's ſupremacy did; and the Roman catholics of Canada were obliged by the act to give a proof of their allegiance, by taking an oath which was therein preſcribed, againſt all ſuch papal claims as interfered therewith. The ſecuring the Romiſh clergy their tythes, by the act, was no more than placing them in the condition which they ſtood in at the conqueſt; ſubject however to this diſadvantage, that no perſon profeſſing the proteſtant religion was to contribute any thing to their ſupport. The extenſion of the boundaries of the province beyond the limits preſcribed in the proclamation, was juſtified by the plea, that ſeveral French families were ſettled in remote parts of the country, beyond the former diſtricts, and an entire colony was eſtabliſhed among the Illinois Indians.

The oppoſition to the bill, was founded on the monſtrous incongruity, which appeared in a Britiſh legiſlature eſtabliſhing a form of arbitrary government in any part of the empire. Such a conduct was unknown in the hiſtory of this country, and would have been execrated at any other time than the preſent. The ſetting aſide the aſſembly of the province, was imputed to the utter diſlike which the miniſtry bore to ſuch popular deputations, as well as to all the rights of the people at large. The meaſure was called an experiment for ſetting up an arbitrary go-

vernment in one colony, which may be more patient of it than the reſt, in order to extend by degrees that mode of ruling to all the others. It was aſked, why is a trial by jury aboliſhed in ſuits at law? Can the people be thought to have an objection to truſt their proverty to a tribunal, to which they have truſted their lives? They inſiſted, that the grand ſecurity of liberty is the power of having civil actions tried by a jury; as in caſes of arbitrary impriſonments, and many other violations of the right of the ſubject, the redreſs has been always ſought in ſuch a way. The Engliſh reſiding in Canada, and the merchants of Great-Britain, who truſted their property on a preſumption that was under the protection of the Engliſh laws, would be greatly aggrieved in being ſubjected to French cuſtoms and French forms of trial. The regulations hereby made with reſpect to the religion of the country, was much objected to. Every one ſeemed willing to allow the moſt extenſive toleration to the Roman catholic religion, but many wermly oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of that religion throughout the province, and giving proteſtantiſm no more than a toleration. The popiſh clergy gain a legal parliamentary right to a maintenance, the proteſtant clergy are left at the king's diſcretion. Both ought at leaſt to be put on an equal footing, and legal ſupport provided for both.

This bill occaſioned greater debates, and larger minorities upon each diviſion, than any of the bills reſpecting America, which had been before the houſe of Commons this ſeſſion. Many amendments were made to it, and the minority laboured to give a trial by jury at the option of

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the parties; but in this they failed, as well as in obtaining for the Canadians the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. In conſequence of the amendments, it was ſent back to the Lords for their concurrence; which furniſhed Lord Chatham with an opportunity of entering very fully into the merits of the bill. The amendments were agreed to, twenty-five againſt ſeven.* The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, praying that he would not give his royal aſſent to the Quebec bill; immediately on receiving of which, he went to the houſe of peers, and gave his royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, of which this bill was one, and then put an end to the ſeſſion.†

It is very remarkable, that all the regulations made in this ſeſſion of parliament, reſpecting the government of the American Colonies, were in exact conformity to Governor Hutchinſon's idea of colony adminiſtration, as expreſſed in an extract from one of his letters, which we have given.‡ By extending the limits of the province of Quebec, to all lands ſituated behind the northern and middle Colonies, which were not expreſsly included in any charter, if any ſettlements were already made by any of the coloniſts on parts out of their limits, which was very probable, ſuch ſettlers would be immediately deprived of their democratic form of government. It alſo circumſcribed to old Colonies within certain limits, which if, in future times, ſhould be found too narrow for their increaſed population, thoſe who ſought new poſſeſſions would be obliged to relinquiſh their chartered form of government.

Another

* June 18. † June 22. ‡ Page 133.

Another act which affected the province of Quebec received the royal aſſent at the ſame time; the purport of which, was to eſtabliſh a fund towards further defraying the charges of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſupport of the civil government within that province. The French had laid duties on rum, brandy, and other liquors imported into the province of Quebec; and upon all dry goods into, and exported from that province; all of which, by this act, were taken off, and in their ſtead was laid a duty of three-pence per gallon on brandy and other ſpirits, the manufacture of Great-Britain. On Weſt-India rum or other ſpirits, ſix-pence per gallon; American, nine-pence; rum or ſpirits of foreign manufacture one ſhilling. Molaſſes and ſyrups were to pay ſimilar duties, according to the ports from whence they were brought. The ſame act obliged every perſon keeping a houſe of public entertainment, or retailing wine or other liquors, to take out a licence, for which he was to pay thirty-ſix ſhillings. The revenue ariſing from the duties on merchandize, was appropriated to defraying the expences of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſupport of the civil government in the province; the money ariſing from licences was granted to his majeſty. This act therefore, ſerved to eſtabliſh in the province, both commercial and internal taxation; as well as the right of parliament to diſpoſe of the money raiſed by taxes there, either to the ſupport of the province, or for any other purpoſe they ſhould think proper to apply it to. This act was eſſential to the perfecting of that ſyſtem of government which was framed for Quebec. Notwithſtanding which, it was little noticed, either in its progreſs through the two houſes, or by the people at large.

On

On the 10th of May, 1774, died Louis XV. king of France, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and fifty-ninth of his reign, who was ſucceeded by his grandſon Louis XVI. then almoſt twenty years of age; the young king had been four years married to a princeſs of the houſe of Auſtria. On his acceſſion, he found his kingdom recovering from that ſtate of confuſion into which it had been plunged by the improvidence of his predeceſſor; but who, in the latter part of his reign, had applied every method to rectify the diſorders of the ſtate. Lord North took occaſion to ſpeak of this event in the houſe of Commons: he ſaid, "a great and good prince was dead, who was a man of an amiable and peaceable mind; but his ſucceſſor, was not only wiſe and œconomical, but a pacific prince, who would not enter into any unneceſſary war to try projects." The new reign produced a new miniſter of finance, M. Turgot. The edicts iſſued during his adminiſtration, were phænomena in the political world: an abſolute king rendering account to his ſubjects, and inciting his people to think; a right, which it has been the buſineſs of all abſolute kings, and their miniſters, to extinguiſh in the minds of men; but the regulations which he aimed at introducing, excited ſo ſtrong an oppoſition, that he was ſoon obliged to quit his poſt, which was given to a man who afterwards accompliſhed what the other had attempted in vain, by introducing a very general reformation in the government and affairs of France, ſo far as the public revenue was concerned.

Meanwhile the conſequences which were expected to follow from the exemplary puniſhments inflicted on the Colony of Maſſachuſett's-bay, were not realized. The ſpirit of rivalſhip which uſed to prevail in the American ſea-port towns, now no longer ſubſiſted. No merchant diſcovered the ſlighteſt diſpoſition to advantage himſelf by the ſhutting up of the port of Boſton; and the Colonies in general, inſtead of deprecating that vengeance of the mother-country from themſelves, which they ſaw fallen on one province, conſidered it as a common cauſe, and were forward to expreſs their adherence to the principles which had incurred ſuch heavy puniſhment. An agreement was drawn up at Boſton, which was called a ſolemn league and covenant, the ſubſcribers to which, bound themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, to ſuſpend all commercial intercourſe with Great-Britain, until the Boſton-port bill, and the other obnoxious acts of parliament were repealed, and the colony of Maſſachuſett's-bay fully reſtored to the rights which it derived from its charter. The people not only in the New-England government, but in the other provinces, entered into this new league with the utmoſt eagerneſs. A general congreſs was held at Philadelphia, the beginning of September 1774, deputies to which were choſen by the houſes of repreſentatives of each province; the ſmaller Colonies ſent two, and the larger ones ſeven, the whole number of delegates amounting to fifty-one. The province of Georgia alone, did not accede to the confederacy. In this general aſſembly, each Colony had no more than a ſingle vote, whether its deputation was more or leſs numerous.

On

On the 30th of September 1774, the parliament was ſuddenly diſſolved by a royal proclamation, after having ſat ſix years, and the writs for electing a new houſe of Commons, were returnable on the 29th of November following. As this was a very unexpected meaſure, becauſe an unuſual exertion of the regal prerogative, no ſimilar inſtance having happened for almoſt thirty-one years, it gave the miniſtry great advantages in the election of members. Indeed the exigencies of the crown and the ſtate of public affairs were ſuch, that adminiſtration could not allow that the next ſeſſion of parliament ſhould be employed in framing ſuch popular acts, as conſtantly take place in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. The miniſtry had very important, and not very agreeable objects before them; the one was, to pay off the debts incurred upon the civil liſt eſtabliſhment, and to obtain an increaſe in the annual revenue; the other, to bring the Americans to unconditional obedience, and only a houſe of Commons which was juſt entered on its functions could venture to concur in ſuch deſigns.

Although the parliament, which was now diſſolved, had, in ſome particular inſtances, gone counter to the miniſter, and left him in a minority; a conduct, which had ever been conſidered in former adminiſtrations as portending his removal, yet no one of theſe inſtances was ſucceeded by any diminution of the miniſter's influence, in any of the grand objects purſued by government; on the contrary, his lordſhip ſeemed, like Antæus, to gain ſtrength by every fall. In no parliament ſince the revolution, did the crown obtain ſo great an increaſe of influence as in this we are

ſpeaking of. A parliament in the reign of Richard II. was called "the wonder working parliament," becauſe it puniſhed the judges and miniſters with ſeverity, and endeavoured to reconcile the king and his people. Other parliaments have likewiſe been diſtinguiſhed by titles, expreſſive of the general tendency of their conduct; on which account that houſe of Commons which increaſed the national debt upwards of ſixty millions during the laſt war, has been called by ſome "the prodigal parliament." On the ſame principle, the thirteenth parliament of Great-Britain may with propriety be entitled, "the regal parliament." At the cloſe of it, Lord North appeared to be firmly eſtabliſhed in his high office: indeed, his abilities were admirably adapted to the conducting of affairs in the houſe of Commons, by his ſteady attention and application to buſineſs, his coolneſs in debate, and talents as a ſpeaker: for having now ſat in three parliaments, he had corrected very ſtrong natural impediments which lay in the way of his becoming an orator, and had acquired a very agreeable and perſuaſive elocution, which he employed with great addreſs in foiling the attacks made upon him from various parts of the houſe. On all occaſions he maintained his dignity, without appearing to aſſume or dictate.

Theſe qualities led a learned law officer of the crown to remark in the houſe, that although many members might be ready to name ſome one whom they conſidered as better qualified to act as prime miniſter, according as their party attachments or private friendſhips influenced their judgments, yet all thoſe gentlemen, he believed, would agree in acknowledging, that next to the man of their choice, no one was ſo eligible as the

lord

lord who then held that poſt; from whence he inferred, that he was actually the beſt qualified; for if when partiality and prejudice are gratified, all parties agree in their ſecond nomination, impartial reaſon will declare ſuch an one pre-minently meritorious.*

* The thought was taken from Rouſſeau, who argued in this manner for the ſuperiority of Italian muſic over that of any other country. The juſtneſs of the above application muſt be left to others to decide upon.

The amount and application of the ſinking fund, during the firſt five years of Lord North's adminiſtration.

	£	£
Remainder of the quarter ending January 5, 1770	299,375	
Quarter ending April 5 —	773,240	
		1,072,615
Charged thereon for the ſervice of the year 1770	1,700,000	
Produce to the 5th of April 1771 — —	691,977	
		2,391,977
Charged thereon for the ſervice of the year 1771	1,650,000	
Balance to January 5, 1772	191,608	
Produce of the quarter ending April 5, 1772	805,398	
		2,647,006
Charged thereon for the ſervice of the year 1772	1,856,723	
Balance April 5, 1773 —	350,193	
		2,206,916
Charged thereon for the ſervice of the year 1773	2,349,806	
Balance to January 5, 1774	113,190	
Produce of the quarter ending April 5, 1774	619,303	
		3,082,229
		11,400,813

In

In the ſame ſpace of time, the national funded debt was reduced as follows:

	£.
A million and a half of annuities, at three and a half per cent. was paid off at par in the year 1770	1,500,000
A million and a half of three per cents. was paid off at 90 in the year 1772 — —	1,350,000
A million of three per cents. was paid off at 88 in the year 1774	880,000
	3,730,000
So that the ſinking fund contributed toward the public ſervice, during five years, including the intereſt of five millions borrowed in 1758, for which no other proviſion was made — —	7,670,813
	11,400,813

END OF THE FIRST PART.

A

VIEW

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

PART II.

From the commencement of hoſtilities in America, to the meeting of Parliament in November, 1781.

CHAP. I.

Evils foretold on the firſt ſettling of Colonies in America—General Gage appointed to the chief command—Diſcontents in America—General Congreſs firſt held—Proceedings of that body—Meeting of Parliament—Inactivity of Government towards America—Various opinions among the people—Reduction in the army and navy—Petitions and addreſſes—Lord Chatham's motion in the Houſe of Lords—His plan of conciliation——Bill to reſtrain the American fiſheries——Mr. Burke's ſyſtem of American government—Unreſtrained liberty of the preſs—Conduct of the Earl of Effingham—Finances for the year 1775—

Sentiments of European ſtates reſpecting the conteſt between Great Britain and her Colonies.

WHEN the deſign of ſettling Colonies in North America, firſt became a national object in the reign of James the Firſt, the ſpeculative politicians of that age raiſed many objections to the meaſure, and fore-told, that after draining their mother country of inhabitants, thoſe Colonies would ſoon ſhake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America.* More than a century and a half had, however, elapſed, and neither of theſe predicted evils had been realized. Experience had ſhewn, that the depopulation of Great Britain by emigrations to America was not to be feared; and the apprehenſion of the Colonies becoming independent ſtates, ſeems at no time to have been entertained by government before the concluſion of the peace with France and Spain in 1763. Notwithſtanding which ſecurity, it was evident, from the nature of things, that there certainly would come a time when the Northern continent of the new world, being overſpread with a race of men active, enterpriſing, and enthuſiaſtically attached to freedom, would begin to conſider reſtraints as oppreſſions. The Coloniſts, influenced by that univerſal principle of ſelf-love which actuates communities, as well as individuals, would, in proceſs of time, recoil at the idea of that ſupremacy and inherent right of controul, which the parent ſtate claimed to itſelf in perpetuity.

The eſtabliſhment of parliamentary taxation in America, appeared to them to be nothing ſhort of holding their property by the courteſy of a Britiſh ſenate. As their ſtrength and conſequence ſhould hereafter advance, ſuch views of things would of courſe

* Hume's Hiſtory of England, Vol. VI. 188.

courſe preſs upon them with greater weight. Thus whenever their population ſhould have trebled its preſent amount, that acceſſion would lead them to diſregard thoſe prohibitions which deprived them of the liberty to work up the materials which their earth yielded for the purpoſes of civil life; when riſen ſo high in the ſcale of political conſequence, they would certainly have thought it oppreſſion in being prohibited from manufacturing their own iron. The preſent race of Americans did not openly complain of the commercial reſtrictions which are laid upon them, but their immediate deſcendents yet unborn, if it had happened, that an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity, had nurtured them into a contempt of ſecondary importance, would have thought ſuch burdens too grievous to be borne: at leaſt the hiſtory of mankind will warrant ſuch a ſuppoſition; for ſubordination can be expected only from the weak to the ſtrong. When ſuch a revolt ſhould cauſe them to be upbraided with ingratitude to their parent ſtate, they might have replied, " we have enriched you by our commerce whilſt we were your dependents, we will ſtill continue to do ſo on the footing of friends and equals, but our ſtate of minority is now paſt."

An independent condition is always accompanied by an independent ſpirit. Even a colony of Frenchmen, in whoſe breaſts allegiance to their King is the moſt active public principle, when they grew ſufficiently numerous and powerful to ſupport themſelves, would have looked to independence as their right.

The nature of the government eſtabliſhed in Britiſh America, and the conduct of our Kings towards the Colonies, has uniformly been ſuch as to encourage, inſtead of checking an independent ſpirit. The general law of deſcent in the New England provinces,

is an extenſion of that which is known among us by the title of gavel-kind, for the children equally ſhare the patrimony, which effectually bars the acquiſition, or at leaſt the perpetuity of large fortunes, and greatly promotes a republican ſpirit.

It has been aſſerted, that when a plan of taxation for America was propoſed to Sir Robert Walpole, he rejected it, ſaying, " let ſuch meaſures be adopted by my ſucceſſors, I never will undertake ſo intricate a buſineſs." It is however certain, that his adminiſtration was the preciſe time, for introducing ſuch a form of government, as ſhould correct whatever had been found to be wrong, or too indulgent, in the charters, and for familiarizing the people to the *mode* of internal taxation, rather than to the burdens of it, which might have gradually increaſed in proportion to their ability of bearing them. The more opulent and conſiderable Americans ſhould have been ennobled, and compoſed a legiſlative body in each province, to check the democratic tendency of the popular aſſemblies.

In ſhort, it required the moſt penetrating eye, the moſt determined hand, and the moſt enlightened head, to eſtabliſh ſuch a ſyſtem of government among the riſing Colonies, as would ſecure their attachment and obedience throughout a ſeries of ages; and the proper time for adopting theſe eſtabliſhments was, when they were beginning to reckon their population by millions. To introduce an hierarchy might be what the friends of perpetual ſubordination would rather have wiſhed than ſuppoſed practicable. Fifty years ago addreſs and management might have proved ſucceſsful in warping the natural diſpoſition of the people in civil eſtabliſhments, but in religious matters the Americans were ever inflexible.

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The views of the legiſlature towards America, before the commencement of the preſent reign, were entirely occupied about raiſing the Colonies from a ſtate of imbecility to a vigorous maturity, which was no ſooner effected than popular diſcontents and unſettled government at home greatly leſſened that reſpect and awe in which Great Britain had been held. We are now to relate the events which happened immediately after paſſing thoſe reſtrictive acts of parliament which ſhut up the port of Boſton, and gave a new form of government to the Colony of Maſſachuſett's Bay; a time when mutual diſtruſt was rankling into bitter enmity.

That the coercive meaſures taken by government might produce their deſired effect upon the people, General Gage was appointed Commander in Chief of the forces in North America, and Governor of Maſſachuſet's Bay. This gentleman had reſided many years on the American continent, had filled many reſpectable poſts, and had rendered himſelf popular by his general conduct. On his arrival at Boſton, in May, 1774, Mr. Hutchinſon, the late Governor, embarked for England.

Such was the prevailing temper of the people, as to render them little inclined to welcome, with ſincere gratulations, any Governor who might be placed over them, however they might venerate the perſonal qualities of the man. Nothing like diſmay or remorſe had been excited on the arrival of the act of parliament, by which the port of Boſton was to be ſhut up. That which was meant as a puniſhment for ſedition and violence, ſerved only to rouſe a more general ſpirit of reſentment and oppoſition. The people felt the weight of the chaſtiſement rather as citizens than as traders, and were more incenſed at what they thought an arbitrary deprivation of their

natural

natural rights, than depreſſed by the proſpect of ruin which it laid before them. Copies of the act of parliament were printed, and diſperſed with great expedition over the whole continent of North America, ſouth of the St. Lawrence, and the cauſe of Boſton was repreſented as the cauſe of all. The alarm became general. At many places the act was burnt with great ſolemnity. The day on which it became in force * was devoted to faſting, prayer and humiliation, throughout the whole continent, with very few exceptions. This devotional fervour was accompanied with a very ſpirited conduct, which the Governors of the reſpective diſtricts in vain attempted to oppoſe.

The new Governor of Maſſachuſett's Bay was probably little prepared to meet ſo general and determined a confederacy. As he had heretofore had many opportunities of acquainting himſelf with the temper and diſpoſition of the Americans, it would be a libel on the Britiſh cabinet to ſuppoſe that he had not been conſulted on the effect which was likely to be produced from this deciſive proceeding of Great Britain, in which caſe, the opinion which he held cannot be doubted, for by accepting the government, he ſhewed that he flattered himſelf with the expectation of reſtoring tranquillity; but human expectancy is the vaineſt of all vain things!

The firſt time the Governor met the Provincial Aſſembly, was merely to open his commiſſion, to ſignify in form to that body the reſtrictive act of parliament reſpecting the port of Boſton, and to appoint the next meeting to be held at Salem on the ſecond of June following, for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The Aſſembly, when convened there, adhered cloſely to the example of the Engliſh parliament in the reign of

* June 1, 1774.

of Charles the Firſt; they made the conſideration of grievances precede all other buſineſs. A reſolution was paſſed in the houſe of repreſentatives, that a general meeting of commitees for the ſeveral Colonies was expedient, and at the ſame time they named five gentlemen to repreſent that province, and voted five hundred pounds for their uſe. The Governor refuſed to confirm this reſolution, ſo that it became invalid, whereupon the aſſembly recommended to the ſeveral towns and diſtricts, to raiſe the money by equitable proportions. The houſe then came to many reſolutions with great ſecrecy, unanimity and diſpatch; recommending to the inhabitants of the province entirely to renounce the conſumption of India teas, and, as far as poſſible, to diſcontinue the uſe of all goods imported from the Eaſt-Indies and from Great Britain, until the public grievances of America ſhould be radically and totally redreſſed; in order to which it was recommended, that they ſhould give every poſſible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

The Governor having obtained intelligence of theſe proceedings, ſent his ſecretary to make declaration of his diſſolving the aſſembly. He found the door locked, and having ſent to acquaint the ſpeaker that he had a meſſage from the Governor to deliver to the houſe, he received for anſwer, "that the doors muſt be kept faſt." The ſecretary being thus debarred admittance, cauſed proclamation to be made on the ſtairs of the diſſolution of the general aſſembly*, which put a final end to the exiſtence of that body in the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, as founded on the charter granted by King William and Queen Mary. Still, however, ſome feeble efforts were made by a ſmall number at Boſton, to deprecate

* June 17, 1774.

cate the vengeance of the mother-country; and a ſum of money was raiſed for the purpoſe of indemnifying the Eaſt-India Company for the tea which had been deſtroyed; but notwithſtanding the Governor exerted all his influence in cheriſhing and encreaſing this propenſity to obedience, it was borne down by the tide of popular fury, until the arrival of the act of parliament, which deprived the Colony of Maſſachuſet's Bay of its charter, and introduced a new form of government there, which ſerved to alienate the minds of the ſmall remnant who had till then retained their principles of loyalty uncorrupted.

The people of Maſſachuſet's (zealouſly attached not only to the principles but even to the forms which prevailed in the laſt century, during the grand conflict between the King and the puritans) ſubſcribed a confederacy which they called a ſolemn league and covenant, whereby they bound themſelves to maintain no kind of intercourſe whatever with Great Britain, from the thirty-firſt of Auguſt following, until the Boſton Port Bill and the ſubſequent American acts ſhould be repealed. The parties to this agreement engaged themſelves farther not to conſume, or purchaſe any kind of goods which might arrive after that time; and whoever ſhould import or vend any goods, the manufacture of Great Britain, were deemed enemies of their country, and cut off from all ſocial intercourſe. In civil contentions, neutrality is held to be criminal: ſuch, therefore, as would not ſubſcribe to this teſt, had their names made public as enemies to their country, and abettors of the attempts to enſlave it. A philoſophic moderation, as it is non-efficient upon the impetuous multitude, muſt be diſclaimed when the intereſts and paſſions of men cauſe civil diſtractions: hence the advocates for liberty are frequently hurried into acts of tyranny. It

may

may be affirmed, that England had never leſs freedom than under the government of the long parliament, and afterwards under Oliver Cromwell.

The violence of the people at Boſton was however ſomewhat overawed by the arrival of large bodies of troops at different times; and the juſtices of Plymouth county ſigned a congratulatory addreſs to General Gage, in which the eſtabliſhment of committees of correſpondence, and the compact entered into by the ſolemn league and covenant, were reprobated. The gentlemen of the county of Worceſter alſo ſigned a proteſt againſt all riotous and ſeditious practices. The province of New-York, though not inclined to yield obedience to the regulations of the Britiſh parliament, was yet averſe to become a party in that open oppoſition to it, which their northern neighbours had ſhewn, and preferred the milder expedient of ſtating their grievances to parliament in an humble addreſs, which the majority of their houſe of repreſentatives agreed to. No ſuch means of reconciliation were ſought by the province of Maryland, the people there vying with thoſe of Boſton in their unqualified reſentment. The extenſive province of Virginia was on very bad terms with Lord Dunmore, its Governor. That province firſt appointed a committee of correſpondence, in order to propoſe to the other Colonies, that deputies from each ſhould be appointed to meet annually, in general Congreſs, there to deliberate upon ſuch meaſures as became neceſſary for the common intereſt of America.

Even the capital of Pennſylvania, a city whoſe very name denotes brotherly love and good-will, and which its benevolent founder ardently wiſhed ſhould ever prevail among the inhabitants, ſo far from declining to become a party in the contention with

Great

Great Britain, readily received delegates from each of the Colonies, the two Carolinas included, and which compoſed a general Congreſs, which firſt ſat on the 5th of September, 1774. The colony of Georgia alone was unrepreſented in this aſſembly. Theſe deputies were choſen by the houſes of repreſentatives, from each of the twelve old Colonies, viz. New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, Jerſey, Maryland, Virginia, Pennſylvania, the counties on the Delaware, North and South Carolina: the ſmaller of which ſent two deputies, and the larger ones, ſeven. The whole number of delegates amounted to fifty-one. In this general aſſembly of the American ſtates, each colony had no more than a ſingle vote, whether its deputation was more or leſs numerous. So that a contrariety of opinion among the deputies from any particular province, if the majority was in favour of the meaſure, did not occaſion a diſſenting voice in the Congreſs. New Hampſhire and Rhode Iſland ſent two deputies each, New Jerſey and Maryland four, Virginia ſix. The ſenſe of any Colony could not be taken, if their deputation was equally divided in their opinions.

The firſt acts of this body were declaratory of the allegiance which the American ſtates owed and acknowledged to their ſovereign; of their affection to Great Britain, their dependence upon her, and of the benefits and favours which they had received from their parent ſtate. In the moſt explicit terms they diſclaimed any wiſh of becoming ſeparated from and independent of Great Britain, but at the ſame time they declared themſelves entitled to a participation of all the rights and privileges of Britiſh-born ſubjects. That the power lately aſſumed by parliament was unjuſt, and the only cauſe of all the

preſent

preſent uneaſineſs; that the late acts reſpecting the capital and province of Maſſachuſet's Bay were unconſtitutional, oppreſſive, and dangerous. Theſe ſentiments were expreſſed in a public act, which they called a declaration of rights; in which they kept cloſe to the example ſet them by the third parliament in the reign of Charles the Firſt. The ſpecification of their rights is full and explicit, and was followed by an enumeration of their grievances. As the moſt effectual means to obtain a redreſs of which, the Congreſs recommended to the ſeveral Colonies to abide by thoſe agreements which they had entered into, not to import or conſume any Britiſh goods or merchandize, or any Eaſt-India teas, or the products of the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands, after the firſt day of December, 1774, from which time they would wholly diſcontinue the ſlave trade. There were many other articles *recommended*, but nothing was authoritatively enjoined.

Congreſs afterwards agreed to petition his Majeſty; they likewiſe framed an addreſs to the people of Great Britain, and another to the inhabitants of Quebec. In the petition they laid a variety of grievances before the throne, diſtinct from and independent of the preſent ſubject of diſpute. The addreſſes were drawn up with great ingenuity and force of reaſoning: the firſt was deſigned to ſhew, that the people of England had, in the laſt century, contended with their kings for the preſervation of the ſame rights which the Americans were now deprived of by a Britiſh parliament. They inſiſted that the oppreſſion was eſſentially the ſame, although the oppreſſors were changed. But not altogether relying on the efficacy of this appeal to the juſtice of the nation, the addreſs endeavoured to gain it over to the cauſe of America, by repreſenting that the certain conſequences of unconditional ſubmiſſion being exacted

from

from her, would be the ſubverſion of the conſtitution of the mother-country, and the tyranny of an ariſtocracy being engrafted on that of the crown.

The addreſs to the inhabitants of Quebec, aimed at perſuading them, that they were cajoled out of thoſe natural rights which had been ſecured to them at the laſt peace, by the inſidious act which eſtabliſhed the Romiſh religion in Canada. The principles laid down were ſupported by the authority of the greateſt political writers of France, and theſe French Americans were invited to become parties in a league which equally concerned all.

Little elſe was tranſacted in this firſt ſeſſion of the Congreſs, which was cloſed on the 26th of October following. Theſe proceedings in America, which indicated the moſt determined oppoſition to the meaſures which had been adopted by the Britiſh legiſlature, being ſufficiently known in England, the King met his new parliament*. The firſt Lord of the Treaſury entered upon his parliamentary campaign under circumſtances of peculiar embarraſſment. All the predictions which he had delivered concerning that ſubmiſſive temper which would be produced by wholeſome ſeverity, were falſified, and no alternative remained but to plunge the nation into a civil war, or to degrade it by undoing whatever had been done. If in this ſituation the miniſter could conſole himſelf with the reflection, that he was neither the original framer of any one of thoſe acts, nor their ſtrenuous ſupporter in the cabinet; yet ſuch a declaration would have availed him little in the Houſe of Commons, againſt an active oppoſition, who, by ſhifting their ground, could attack him with equal advantage

upon

* November 30, 1774.

upon his unimportance in the cabinet, as his deluſive expectations in the ſenate.

The ſpeech from the throne was couched in as mild terms as the ſtate of affairs would admit of, without renouncing the point contended for. It neither deſcribed the general defection of the Colonies, nor ſpoke of any one Colony, as being in a ſtate of actual rebellion. Lord Beauchamp moved for the addreſs, and expreſſed himſelf with ſome warmth on the conduct of the Americans. The diſpoſition of the new parliament was quickly ſeen by the ſtile of the addreſs which was preſented in anſwer to the ſpeech, and although oppoſition attempted to counteract the views of the miniſtry, by propoſing an amendment, which gave riſe to a long and ſpirited debate, yet upon a diviſion of the houſe, their numbers appeared comparatively ſmall.*

But however miniſtry were proved to have been deceived in their expectations from America, yet the ſudden diſſolution of parliament became, from that very diſappointment, the means by which they continued in power. Things were now brought to ſuch a criſis, that a Houſe of Commons, guided by the voice of the people, which in the concluding ſeſſion of a parliament is eſſential to their immediate views, dared not to have proceeded upon a plan of coercion. It was indeed now generally underſtood, that the new modelling the form of government throughout North America, and ſecuring that continent to Great Britain, by introducing ſuch regulations as might form habits of ſubordination and obedience, was the favourite objects of the Sovereign, and to propoſe the means by which ſuch a renovation of loyalty might be effected, was the ſureſt introduction to royal favour; notwithſtanding which,

* 73 to 264.

which, the nation was very much divided in opinion concerning the proper conduct to be obſerved towards America. Some were for coercion, becauſe they hoped to derive a revenue therefrom, and the loweſt plebeians, whom neither nature nor education had qualified to decide upon an intricate ſubject, thought themſelves able to adjuſt this diſpute, by only aſking the plain queſtion, "Why ſhould not the Americans pay taxes as well as we?" National pride, as well as an idea of national intereſt, ſtrongly enforced the ſame doctrine. Superadded to theſe conſiderations, motives neither national nor laudable, actuated not a few to foment the quarrel with America: ſuch as the proſpect of lucrative contracts or appointments, and a diſtribution of the confiſcated eſtates of the American ringleaders. All theſe were powerful incentives to action; however, the contrary opinion was reſcued from contempt, both by the numbers and the conſequence of thoſe who avowed it. The country gentlemen, although the pillars of prerogative, foreſaw that the land-tax muſt be advanced to four ſhillings in the pound, as ſoon as the ſword ſhould be drawn; and although the omnipotence of Great Britain to enforce her laws was not doubted, yet whether a revenue could be drawn from America, ſhould her ſubmiſſion be ſecured, appeared highly problematical. The commercial intereſt was yet more deeply affected by an open rupture. The Colonies ſtood indebted to the Britiſh merchants about four millions ſterling, which, though a vaſt ſum, was no more than the amount of a twelve months commerce. This reſpectable body of men, not only ſaw themſelves deprived of a moſt lucrative trade, but cut off from all hope of obtaining ſpeedy payment of the ſums due to them, and in danger of loſing them for ever. A numerous body of manufacturers derived their only means of ſubſiſtence from the intercourſe with the Colonies, and therefore conſidered the non-

non-importation agreement which their conſumers had entered into, as the greateſt poſſible evil, and were anxious for a reconciliation upon any terms. Beſides theſe claſſes of men, whoſe particular and immediate intereſts urged them to become ſtrenuous advocates in the American cauſe, there were many people, who though influenced by no private or intereſted views, could neither ſee the juſtice nor expediency of compelling the Americans to abſolute ſubmiſſion, and the operative principle of private intereſt among the bulk, gave an energy and force to ſuch ſpeculative reaſoning.

The meeting of parliament was the important moment for action; the ſenſe of the houſe had been taken as ſoon as it was aſſembled, and it had been found to be in perfect union with the former parliament; ſo that the temper which dictated the reſolutions of the cabinet, was likely to infuſe itſelf into the legiſlative part of the conſtitution. The great queſtion now was, whether Britiſh ſpirit ſhould be oppoſed to American ſpirit; whether bold, vigorous and judicious exertions ſhould be immediately made to cruſh that oppoſition before it had gained ſtrength, which it was found could not be terrified into acquieſcence. In ſuch a ſituation to temporize was to yield; delay and irreſolution added fuel to the flame: but in conducting this momentous buſineſs, the confidential ſervants of the crown ſhewed themſelves better qualified for drawing the nation into hoſtile meaſures by ſecret and imperceptible ſteps, than at once to bear down oppoſition in both countries by the ſpirit and ability which were conſpicuous in their plans. The nation was lulled into ſecurity by the number of ſeamen for the year 1775, being reduced to ſixteen thouſand men; the land forces were alſo fixed at ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and forty-

ſeven

ſeven effective men, officers and invalids included, a ſmaller force than the preceding year.*

Whilſt adminiſtration ſeemed totally to have for gotten the ſtate of affairs in America, addreſſes were preſented both to the King and to the Parliament from the city of London, and various parts of the kingdom, repreſenting the dreadful conſequences which the enforcement of the late rigorous acts would produce, and expreſſing an earneſt deſire that a reconciliation with America might take place. A petition from the merchants reſiding in London and trading to America, was preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Alderman Hayley: a ſimilar one from Briſtol, by Mr. Burke; the Weſt-India merchants and planters alſo ſtated in a petition, how deeply they were concerned in this diſpute, as the ſugar iſlands not only drew a great part of their proviſions from America, but were ſupplied with lumber from thence, for which they bartered their rum and ſugars; ſo that an interruption of the intercourſe between the Britiſh American continent and thoſe iſlands, was likely not only to deprive the latter of the means of ſending their produce to Europe, but to cauſe a great body of people to periſh for want of ſuſtenance. A Committee of the Houſe of Commons was appointed, to whom theſe petitions were referred.†

In the mean time the petition from the American Congreſs to the King had been tranſmitted to London, but the agents appointed to preſent it, were informed, that his Majeſty could not poſſibly receive any thing which came from that body, as ſuch a ſtep would be to acknowledge its legality.

On the 26th of January, 1775, Sir George Saville moved the Houſe of Commons to preſent a petition from

* See page 164.

† Mr. Burke ſtyled it a Committee of Oblivion.

from three American agents, viz. Meſſrs. Bollan, Franklin and Lee, ſtating, that they were authorized by the American Congreſs, to preſent a petition of that aſſembly to the King, which petition his Majeſty had referred to the Houſe; the petitioners therefore deſired to be heard at the bar in ſupport of it, being, as they ſaid, able to throw great light on the ſubject. The granting of this prayer was ſtrongly oppoſed for the ſame reaſon which excluded the petition from the throne, and it was thrown out by a majority of 218 to 68. As it was well known that the Americans had formed great expectations from this application, and the miniſter, only three days before, had aſſigned as a reaſon of the delay in proceeding on the American buſineſs, that ſuch a petition was coming over, and that it was of ſo conciliatory a nature as to make way for healing and lenient meaſures, and for reconciling all matters in an amicable manner, ſuch a conduct appeared ſomewhat paradoxical, and indicated that no kind of compromiſe could take place; at the ſame time, it might be plainly inferred that this auſterity on the part of government was juſt then aſſumed.

Such being the temper which dictated meaſures, the application by the general aſſembly of the province of New-York to the Houſe of Commons, was not permitted to lie upon the table. The city of New-York was the rival port of Boſton: the Yorkiſts were as much diſtinguiſhed by their love of gaiety and pleaſure as the Boſtonians were for their auſtere and rigid demeanour. A people ſo oppoſite in intereſts and habits, could only be compelled to unite through neceſſity, and hence the former were deſirous of making their peace with Great Britain, upon terms, though they abhorred the idea of unconditional ſubmiſſion; but the miniſtry thought ſuch a qualified allegiance not worth obtaining.

All negotiations being now at an end, Franklin ſoon after embarked for Boſton, where he was received with every mark of reſpect and confidence.* His unremitting exertions in the cauſe in which he was engaged, contributed eſſentially to its ſupport and furtherance. The miniſtry, who well knew how dangerous an enemy this man was, had declared the northern Colonies to be in a ſtate of actual rebellion before his departure: ſtate-neceſſity therefore pointed out to them that he ſhould be detained in England. Mr. Pitt, when he declared general warrants to be illegal, at the ſame time acknowledged that he himſelf had iſſued them upon great emergencies. The parliament which approved the meaſures purſuing againſt America, would moſt aſſuredly have indemnified both the adviſers and executors of ſuch a ſtretch of power as the detaining this man. Upon the ſame principle, it would have been a proper conduct in General Gage, to have prevented the conveyance of arms and ammunition out of the town of Boſton, which were however carried off without queſtion or moleſtation.

As ſoon as the Houſe of Lords met after Chriſtmas, the Earl of Dartmouth, then ſecretary of ſtate, laid before it the official papers received from America, upon which occaſion the Earl of Chatham inveighed with great ſpirit againſt the dilatorineſs of adminiſtration, and moved "to addreſs his Majeſty to cauſe orders to be iſſued to General Gage, that he remove the forces from the town of Boſton, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year, and other circumſtances, indiſpenſable to the ſafety and accommodation of the troops, may render it practicable." He urged the neceſſity of ſuch a ſtep, as the means of opening a way for ſettling the dangerous troubles in America,

* On the departure of Franklin, Mr. Burke became agent for Maſſachuſett's Bay.

rica, by beginning to allay the ferments and ſoften animoſities there. He ſaid an hour now loſt might produce years of calamity, and pledged himſelf that he would not deſert for a moment the conduct of this mighty buſineſs, from the firſt to the laſt, unleſs nailed to his bed by the extremity of ſickneſs, but would knock at the door of a ſleeping miniſtry, and rouſe them to a ſenſe of their imminent danger.

The times were greatly changed ſince this wonderful man, "moulded the attentive ſenate; charmed, perſuaded, exalted;" and by the force of his matchleſs eloquence, annihilated all oppoſition. He now addreſſed an aſſembly, whoſe preconceived opinions were not to be ſhaken by the ſtrongeſt arguments. He could now no longer gain upon his audience by touching their maſter-paſſion, and placing full in their view the advancement of their country's dignity and power. He now maintained a doctrine quite repugnant to the pride, the prejudice, and, as it was imagined, the intereſt of thoſe who heard him. Wrapped in the contemplation of their own grandeur and irreſiſtible ſtrength, they conſidered all predictions of diſgrace, humiliation and ruin, as the images of a ſick fancy, the ſuggeſtions of a melancholy mormo; yet all theſe diſadvantages did not deter this venerable ſtateſman, whoſe "old experience had attained to ſomething like a prophetic ſtrain," from predicting with great confidence, the conſequences which would infallibly reſult, if the meaſures which had been adopted were perſiſted in. He deſcribed the ſituation of the troops at Boſton as truly unworthy, being penned up, and pining in inglorious inactivity, he called them an army of impotence and contempt, and to make the folly equal to the diſgrace, they were an army of irritation and vexation; "you irritate your Colonies to unappeaſable rancour. It is not repealing this or that act of

parliament, it is not repealing a piece of parchment that can reſtore America to our boſom, we muſt repeal her fears and her reſentments; and we may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, inſulted by an armed force poſted at Boſton, irritated with an hoſtile array before her eyes, her conceſſions, if they could be forced, would be ſuſpicious and inſecure; but it is more than evident, that you cannot force them, principled and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of ſubmiſſion—it is impoſſible. We ſhall be forced ultimately to retract, let us retract whilſt we can do it with honour. Theſe violent oppreſſive acts muſt be repealed. I pledge myſelf for it, that you will in the end repeal them. I ſtake my reputation on it. I will conſent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed. Avoid then this humiliating, this diſgraceful neceſſity. With a dignity becoming your exalted ſituation, make the firſt advances to concord, to peace and happineſs: for that is your true dignity, to act with prudence and with juſtice. Every motive therefore of juſtice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America, by a removal of your troops from Boſton; by a repeal of your acts of parliament, and by demonſtration of amicable diſpoſitions towards your Colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perſeverance in your preſent ruinous meaſures. Foreign war hanging over your heads by a ſlight and brittle thread: France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors."

The noble Earl concluded his animated harangue in the following emphatical manner. " My Lords; if the miniſters thus perſevere in miſadviſing and miſleading the King, I will not ſay that they can alienate the affections of his ſubjects from his crown; but

but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not ſay that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone." The motion was rejected 68 to 18.

This motion made by the noble Earl, was only preparatory to a bill, which he had framed for the purpoſe of conciliation with America, which he propoſed to the Houſe on the 1ſt of February: it went to repeal all the acts which had been paſſed in the former ſeſſion relative to America, in which were included the Quebec act, and another act which regulated the quartering of ſoldiers. It alſo went to repeal eight acts of parliament which had been paſſed in the preſent reign, from the fourth year thereof to the twelfth. It propoſed to reſtrain the powers of the Admiralty and Vice Admiralty courts in America within their ancient limits, and to eſtabliſh the trial by jury in all ſuch civil caſes in which it had been lately aboliſhed; the Judges to hold their offices and ſalaries as the Judges in England, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*. It declared the Colonies of America to be juſtly entitled to the privileges, franchiſes, and immunities granted by their ſeveral charters or conſtitutions, and that ſuch charters ought not to be invaded or reſumed, unleſs for *miſuſer* or ſome legal ground of forfeiture. This bill, although rejected by a large majority, was yet ſupported by a much more numerous minority than the motion which preceded it.*

This

* 68 to 31.—The peers who voted for Lord Chatham's plan of reconciliation, were the following, viz. Dukes of Cumberland, Richmond, Portland, Mancheſter, Newcaſtle, Marquis of Rockingham; Earls of Stamford, Abingdon, Effingham, Fitzwilliam, Temple, Radnor, Chatham, Scarborough, Cholmondeley, Stafford, Tankerville, Stanhope; Lords, Ponſonby, Littleton, Wycombe, Sondes, Milton, Camden, Abergavenny, Ferrers, Craven, Rumney, King, Forteſcue.

This attempt to overturn all that government had done with regard to America, ſeemed to rouſe adminiſtration from their lethargic ſtupor. The miniſter preſented a meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, recommending an augmentation of the forces by ſea and land, which being complied with, and 2000 additional ſeamen, and 4383 land forces voted,* the houſe being reſolved into a committee on the American papers, he moved † for leave to bring in a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of New Hampſhire and Maſſachuſett's Bay, the Colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, and Providence Plantation in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, and to prohibit ſuch Provinces and Colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the Banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein mentioned, under certain conditions and for a limited time. Still the ſeverity of puniſhment was confined to the northern Colonies.‡ and the miniſter repreſented this reſtraining bill, as a juſt retaliation, for thoſe Colonies refuſing to trade with Great Britain. The fiſheries both nouriſhed the vigour, and advanced the conſequence of the New-Englanders; fiſheries not only ſupplied multitudes of their own people with food, but trained a race of ſeamen as robuſt, hardy and undaunted, as any upon the globe. The veſſels employed therein were privileged to diſpoſe of their cargoes

* In the debate on the augmentation of ſeamen, the Hon. Captain Robert Boyle Walſingham (who afterwards unhappily periſhed in the Weſt-Indies) aſſerted, that France had 75 ſhips of the line; more than one half of which were at that time manned, and fit for actual ſervice.

† Feb 10, 1775.

‡ Another bill was paſſed during the ſeſſion to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the middle and ſouthern Colonies to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh Iſlands in the Weſt-Indies.—The Province of New-York was not included in this reſtriction.

cargoes in any ports ſouth of Cape Finiſterre; ſo that the rigid diſciples of John Calvin furniſhed the catholics of Portugal, Spain, and even of the Italian ſtates, with their Lenten entertainment. The returns made in theſe voyages were brought to the ports of Great Britain, and became the payment for Britiſh manufactures, with which theſe ſhips were freighted home. To prohibit a commerce ſo extenſive, and which employed ſeveral thouſand Americans, was a bold ſtep. It inveſted the Governor of each province, with ſuch a power to diſcriminate between rebels and loyaliſts, fleſh and blood could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed capable of exerciſing diſintereſtedly and juſtly. It tended to convert into enemies a very powerful body of men, and no ſatisfactory proof was adduced that the fiſheries could be carried on to an equal extent, and as effectually, from any of the ports of Great Britain or Ireland.

Whatever inconveniences the New England coloniſts endured from this prohibition, they found means, however, to repay the injury in kind upon the Britiſh fiſheries at Newfoundland; for, by withholding their wonted ſupplies of proviſiion from them, all the diſtreſſes of famine were ſuffered for a conſiderable time, until they received a ſupply from Ireland, whereby exhauſted life was repaired; but the means of ſubſiſtence became from that time more precarious and leſs abundant.

The ſeverity of this bill was diſreliſhed by many friends to government, who had hitherto ſupported coercive meaſures towards America. In order therefore to quiet their ſcruples, the firſt Lord of the Treaſury brought forward another American act, which bore a different complexion. This profeſſed to be a plan of reconciliation with the Colonies, and thereby to invite them to return with confidence to the arms of Great Britain. It enacted, that the Governor,

Council,

Council, and Aſſembly of any Province or Colony, upon making proviſion according to their abilities for the common defence, which proviſion ſhould be diſpoſable by parliament, and for the ſupport of the civil government and adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch Province, if ſuch contribution ſhall be approved of by his Majeſty in parliament, then Great Britain ſhould forbear, in reſpect of ſuch Colony, to levy any duties or taxes, ſuch only excepted as may be expedient for the regulation of commerce; and the net produce of ſuch to be carried to the account of the Province ſo acting.

The miniſter acknowledged it to be very probable that theſe propoſitions might not be acceptable to the Americans in general, as they certainly did not go to all their claims. The reſolutions were however juſt, humane, and wiſe, and thoſe among the Americans who were juſt, humane, and wiſe, would, he believed, think them well worthy their attention; but whatever might be the fate of thoſe meaſures, he felt that he had done his duty fairly and conſiſtently. If it did no good there it would do good here, it would unite the people of England, by holding out to them a diſtinct object of revenue; as it united England it would diſunite America; there it would tend to ſeparate the grain from the chaff: whatever province came firſt to make a dutiful offer, would be kindly and gently treated; and if but one Province accepted the offer, the whole confederacy would be broken, and that union which alone rendered them formidable, would be diſſolved.

In every point of view this bill did not produce the effect expected from it, for it neither ſtrengthened the hands of government at home, nor made proſelytes in America.

The

The great advantage on the ſide of government throughout this parliamentary ſtruggle, was derived from its unanimity; whereas the oppoſition was compoſed of ſuch diſcordant parts, as were not likely to unite firmly and ſtrenuouſly in any one point, but in endeavouring to diſconcert the preſent ſyſtem of politics; ſo that whenever it became a queſtion, what ſhould be ſubſtituted in its ſtead? many adopted the ſentiment of the Roman poet, *nullius addictus jurare in verba magiſtri.* Lord Chatham's plan was not cordially reliſhed by many who wiſhed a reconciliation with America, and indeed, independent of the particular views and private intereſts of the ſeveral leaders (a ſource of diſagreement ſufficiently fruitful) nothing could be more complicated than the buſineſs of adjuſting a practical plan of reconciliation, ſuch as would cauſe their riſing reſentments to ſubſide, their jarring intereſts no longer to claſh, and the apprehenſion of future rivalſhip to be removed: this was ſo ſtupendous a work, as perhaps to ſurpaſs the powers of humanity, unſupported by the ſupreme authority of the ſtate. It was however attempted (maugre royal patronage) by a man, in whom natural endowments, and acquired accompliſhments, appear in their full luſtre. Mr. Burke laid before the houſe of Commons, on the 22d of March, 1775, thirteen reſolutions for conciliation with the Colonies. Theſe he introduced, by a ſpeech fraught with maſterly eloquence, in which he diſplayed a thorough knowledge of the principles of action among mankind in a ſtate of civil ſociety, and of the proper political conduct reſulting from ſuch principles. He laid it down as an axiom, that we muſt govern America according to the true nature and peculiar circumſtances of the people, and not according to our own imaginations; not according to abſtract ideas of right, or mere general theories of government. He ſtated the

rapid

rapid progreſs which America had made in populati-on, and in the commerce carried on with Great Britain. He aſſerted, that the Colonies in general owed little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they were not moulded into their happy form, by the conſtraints of watchful and ſuſpicious government, but that through a wiſe and ſalutary neglect, a generous nature had been ſuffered to take her own way to perfection. He aſſigned, as the cauſes from whence a fierce ſpirit of liberty had grown up in the Colonies, their origin—their form of government—the force of their religious principles in the northern Colonies—of manners in the ſouthern—of educati-on—and of the remoteneſs of ſituation from the firſt mover of government. Under the head of educati-on he obſerved, that perhaps in no country in the world, the law is made ſo general a ſtudy as in North America; inſomuch as that it was ſaid, nearly as many copies of Blackſtone's Commentaries had been printed and ſold in America as in England. This knowledge of law, ſome might ſay, ought to teach them more clearly the rights of legiſlature, their obligations to obedience, and the penalties of rebellion; but when great honours and great emoluments do not win over this knowledge to the ſervice of the ſtate, it is a formidable adverſary to government. His reaſoning, ſolid and irrefragable in itſelf, receiv-ed all the embelliſhment which a fine imagination could beſtow. In large bodies, ſaid he, the circu-lation of power muſt be leſs vigorous at the extremities. Nature has ſaid it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt and Arabia and Curdiſtan, as he governs Thrace. Perhaps ideas of liberty might be deſired more reconcilable with an arbitrary and boundleſs authority. Perhaps we might wiſh the Colonies to be perſuaded, that their liberty is more ſecure when held in truſt for them by us (as their guardians dur-

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ing a perpetual minority) than with any part of it in their own hands; but the queſtion is whether their ſpirit deſerves praiſe or blame.

This able legiſlator then proceeded to deliver it as his opinion, that there were but three ways of proceeding relative to this ſtubborn ſpirit which prevailed in the Colonies; namely, to change that ſpirit as inconvenient, by removing the cauſes; to proſecute it as criminal; or to comply with it as neceſſary. One means of changing the ſpirit was, by taking meaſures to ſtop that ſpreading population which was ſo alarming to this country, by the crown making no further grants of land. But this, he ſaid, would by no means anſwer the purpoſe, there being already ſo much unſettled land in private hands, as would afford ſcope for an immenſe future population, and the numerous bodies which could obtain no ſettled habitation, would become hordes of Engliſh Tartars, which would be in time formidable to the fixed reſidents. He called this project "hedging in population," and pronounced it to be neither prudent nor practicable.

A more direct way of breaking their ſpirit would be to impoveriſh them, by arreſting the noble courſe of their marine enterprizes. This, he ſaid, was no more than the old, and, as he thought, the exploded problem of tyranny, which propoſes to beggar its ſubjects into ſubmiſſion. But nature ſtill proceeds in her ordinary courſe, and diſcontent will increaſe with miſery; and there are critical moments in the fortune of all ſtates, when they who are too weak to contribute to our proſperity, may be ſtrong enough to complete our ruin. The temper and character which prevailed in the Colonies, he thought unalterable by any human art, neither the natural nor moral cauſes could be changed.

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As to the ſecond mode of proceeding, to proſecute this ſpirit in its overt acts as criminal; he knew, he ſaid, of no method of drawing up an indictment againſt a whole people; and in a quarrel among the component parts of a great political union of communities, nothing could be more completely imprudent, than for the head of the empire to inſiſt, that if any privilege is pleaded againſt his will or his acts, that his whole authority is denied, inſtantly to proclaim rebellion, to beat to arms, and to put the offending provinces under the ban. Such conduct may teach the provinces, that the government againſt which a claim of liberty is tantamount to high-treaſon, is a government in which ſubmiſſion is equivalent to ſlavery. If then the removal of the cauſes of this ſpirit be for the greater part, or rather entirely, of American liberty, impracticable; if the ideas of criminal proceſs be inapplicable, or if applicable, are in the higheſt degree inexpedient, what way yet remains? No way is open but the third and laſt, to comply with the American ſpirit as neceſſary, or, if you pleaſe, to ſubmit to it as a neceſſary evil. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reaſon, and juſtice tells me I ought to do. Of what avail are titles and arms, when the reaſon of the thing tells me, that the aſſertion of my title is the loſs of my ſuit; and that I could do nothing but wound myſelf with the uſe of my own weapons? The general character and ſituation of a people muſt determine what ſort of government is fitted for them.

He urged, with great force of reaſoning, the conduct of the legiſlature in early times towards the kingdom of Ireland, the principality of Wales, and the county Palatine of Cheſter; and contended, that the ſame principles which actuated our anceſtors in their conduct towards thoſe countries ſhould govern us in our treatment of America. "It was not," ſaid he,

he, " Engliſh arms, but the Engliſh conſtitution that conquered Ireland; it was the vital ſubſtance of free government in that kingdom." Wales, before it partook of thoſe common rights, rode this kingdom like an *incubus*. That principality was an unprofitable and oppreſſive burden. Our anceſtors at length found, that laws made againſt a whole nation, were not the moſt effectual methods for ſecuring its obedience; Wales, therefore, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, became poſſeſſed of all the rights and privileges of Engliſh ſubjects. About the ſame time the county Palatine of Cheſter obtained the ſame relief, in conſequence of a petition preſented to the King, which ſet forth, " that for want of being repreſented in parliament, the inhabitants of that country had been oftentimes touched and grieved with acts and ſtatutes made within the court of parliament, as well derogatory unto the moſt ancient juriſdictions, liberties and privileges of their county Palatine, as prejudicial to the common-wealth, quietneſs, reſt, and peace of your Grace's moſt bounden ſubjects inhabiting within the ſame." Parliament, he obſerved, ſo far from being offended at the free ſtyle of this petition, made the expreſſions uſed therein, the very preamble to their act of redreſs, and conſecrated its principle to all ages in the ſanctuary of legiſlation. Thus was Cheſter, which had been little leſs diſtempered than Wales, cured by the ſame remedy, which demonſtrates that freedom, and not ſervitude, is the cure of anarchy, as religion, and not atheiſm, is the true remedy for ſuperſtition*.

The

* In the beginning of the next ſeſſions Mr. Burke offered to the conſideration of parliament another bill, which aimed at compoſing the troubles and quieting the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects in America. This plan of conciliation was founded on that important

The grand ſtimulus for coercive meaſures with America was, the full aſſurance which was entertained by many, that the Colonies would go farther. That with their increaſing ſtrength they would increaſe their diſcontents, until they diſclaimed all ſubordination. Now although the idea of a perpetual minority might have been treated as a chimera, engendered by pride upon ſelfiſhneſs, yet our orator knew too well the diſpoſition of his audience to combat that ſentiment, he therefore paſſed over ſuperficially a point, which it was dangerous to diſcuſs fully.

The ſyſtem of Colony government, which this able ſtateſman had formed, was a very eſſential point analagous

tant law paſſed in the reign of Edward the Firſt, known by the name of *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*.. He ſhewed the ſimilarity of the ancient diſputes that aroſe between the kings and the people of England on the ſubject of taxation, to thoſe now ſubſiſting between the parliament and the natives of America; that the claim of ſovereignty was the ſame in both inſtances; and the evils which were effectually removed by the ſtatute *de tallagio*, correſponded exactly with thoſe which his propoſed bill was intended to remedy. That parliament had happily a precedent of the firſt authority to ſerve as a guide to their conduct. The kings of England formerly contended, that the crown, being charged with the public defence, muſt be furniſhed alſo with the means of providing for it. That it would be abſurd to commit a truſt into the hands of one perſon, and to leave the power of executing it to depend upon the will of another. But notwithſtanding the force of this argument, and the allurements of the claim, one of the greateſt and wiſeſt of our monarchs, by an expreſs and poſitive act, cut off from the ſovereign power the right of taxing. To this conceſſion, he ſaid, in all human probability, the preſervation of the other branches of the perogative was owing. The law was abſolutely ſilent about the right, and confined itſelf to give ſatisfaction in future, and has ever ſince been the foundation of the unity and happineſs of England. This bill, tho' rejected, was ſupported by a larger number than any other propoſal made by the minority reſpecting America, the number being 210 to 105.

analagous to that which had been framed by Lord Chatham. Each renounced the idea of America being repreſented in the Britiſh parliament. Mr. Burke's plan went to repealing only one of the eight acts of parliament propoſed by the noble Earl in the other Houſe, but with him it urged the neceſſity of repealing all the acts reſpecting America which had paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, the Quebec act excepted; to regulate the Courts of Admiralty; and that the Judges ſhould be paid by the aſſemblies, and hold their poſts during good behavionr. The baſis on which the whole fabric reſted, was the mode by which a revenue ſhould be raiſed. Mr. Burke propoſed, that all grants or aids to Great Britain made by America, ſhould be by reſolutions in their general aſſemblies; the readineſs of thoſe aſſemblies, to grant an equitable ſupply for the exigencies of the ſtate, he inferred from the free grants which they had at ſundry times made of large ſubſidies, according to their abilities. All theſe reſolutions were rejected by a great majority.

Mr. Burke appealed to the public, by printing his ſpeech; the public read, admired, and forgot it. In ſhort, poſterity alone is qualified to decide upon the merits of a politician who attempts to reaſon down the pride of empire, and to perſuade a warlike people to yield, when they imagine themſelves able to dictate. No orator ever ſucceeded in a cauſe wherein it was impoſſible for him to engage ſome active paſſion of the human ſoul in his intereſt.

Whilſt the important diſpute with America cauſed warm debates in both houſes of parliament, and greatly divided the nation, a variety of publications iſſued from the preſs, in ſome of which the conduct of government was defended with great zeal, and in others as warmly attacked, ſometimes with argument, ſometimes by ridicule, and not unfrequently with

abuſe.

abuſe. Indeed the liberty of the preſs prevailed in its full extent. The miniſtry, inſtead of puniſhing abuſive writers, retained in their pay ſuch as were very eminent for that qualification, it having been thought more ſerviceable to the cauſe ofgo vernment to bear down ſcurrility, than to proſecute delinquents in the courts of law. To reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the preſs uſed to be deemed neceſſary by miniſters, but now a different kind of conduct is adopted; the abuſe of the preſs is winked at, is even countenanced, and an uſeful purpoſe is anſwered to government thereby: the natural attachment which mankind feels to order and decorum, cauſe men of ſenſe and influence to be diſguſted at the abuſe and illiberality which is poured out, and the forbearance of government is conſtrued into moderation, when perhaps their own emiſſaries are the delinquents*.

The moſt able and reſpectable advocate for government, was a writer who had ſpent a long courſe of years in literary purſuits, no leſs laborious to himſelf than beneficial to mankind, and who was at length, by the well-directed bounty of his Sovereign, reſcued from thoſe uneaſy ſenſations, which muſt prey upon a man of genius, who is compelled to make writing a profeſſion†. This gentleman had ever avowed

* In the early part of the reign of George the Second, the printer of the Craftſman was taken up for publiſhing two letters, which were written by lord Bolingbroke, in the firſt of which he paſſed great encomiums upon Edward the Third, interſperſed with ſome oblique hints, which were conſtrued into libels againſt the government: and in the ſecond, he drew the character of Richard the Second, in a manner which was ſuppoſed to convey the ſame meaning; but the affair was ſuffered to die away. This will, however, ſerve to ſhew the great increaſe in the licenſe of the preſs in the courſe of about forty years.

† Dr. Johnſon feelingly deſcribes ſuch a ſituation, in the admirable preface which he has written to his Dictionary of the Engliſh language.

ed his political ſentiments, which led him to be ſtrongly attached to the houſe of Stuart, and to treat with aſperity the conduct of the legiſlature towards that family; but he had at length, like many others who held the ſame principles, transferred his loyalty to the Brunſwick line: it was therefore in the integrity of his heart that he undertook a defence of American taxation from the imputation of tyranny. In this piece he defended the doctrine of Colony ſubordination upon the principles of the law of nations; maintained that the Coloniſts, by their ſituation, became poſſeſſed of ſuch advantages as were more than equivalent to their right of voting for repreſentatives in parliament: he ridiculed the diſtinction made between internal taxation and commercial regulations, and argued, that as the parliament may enact for America a law of capital puniſhment, it may therefore eſtabliſh a mode and proportion of taxation.

This work was publiſhed about the time that Mr. Burke delivered his celebrated ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons. It is to the honour of human nature to have it remarked, that theſe two contemporaries, diſtinguiſhed in the higheſt degree for the univerſality of their knowledge and learning, as well as for the elevation of their genius, who, notwithſtanding they were ſtrenuous ſupporters, from principle, of very oppoſite political ſentiments, at the very time when theſe points were warmly diſcuſſed, and the zeal of the diſputants frequently drew forth invective and fierce recrimination, yet lived in habits of ſtrict friendſhip, and knew how to enjoy "the feaſt of reaſon and the flow of ſoul" amidſt the tempeſt of civil contentions. A glorious triumph over thoſe weakneſſes which the human mind is too much ſuſceptible of, even when under the government of a ſound underſtanding!

Neither ſhould the hiſtorian who records the tranſactions of theſe times, omit to take notice of the diſintereſted conduct of a young nobleman in this unhappy diſpute. In all queſtions concerning the government of America which came before the Houſe of Lords during this ſeſſion of parliament, the Earl of Effingham ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the meaſures adopted by the majority. Although the fortune which he inherited was not ample, yet his deſcent was as illuſtrious as any peer of Great Britain: one of the elder branches of his family commanded the Engliſh fleet that was oppoſed to the Spaniſh Armada in 1588, from which period a martial ſpirit prevailed in moſt of the deſcendants from this noble blood of the Howards. Like his father and grandfather he was bred to arms, and in his early manhood diſcovered a ſtrong attachment to his profeſſion. An earneſt deſire to become a practical ſoldier led him, when the war between Ruſſia and the Porte had broke out, to ſerve as a volunteer in the army of the former power. The re-eſtabliſhment of peace reſtored his lordſhip to his country, when he gave a public teſtimony of his political principles, by ſigning the proteſt which was entered on the journals of the Houſe of Lords, on paſſing the act for regulating the government of Maſſachuſett's Bay.* The twenty-ſecond regiment of foot, in which he held a captain's commiſſion, being at length ordered to America, he conceived his profeſſion of a ſoldier no longer compatible with his duty as a citizen, he therefore wrote a letter of reſignation to the ſecretaty at war. "It is, ſaid he, when addreſſing his peers, no ſmall ſacrifice which a man makes who gives up his profeſſion, but it is a much greater, when a predilection ſtrengthened by habit, has given him ſo ſtrong an attachment to his profeſſion as I feel; I have, however, this conſolation, that by making the ſacrifice, I at leaſt give to my

* See page 161.

my country an unequivocal proof of the ſincerity of my principles."* The cities of London and Dublin voted their thanks to his lordſhip for this noble conduct.

The buſineſs of finance cloſed the ſeſſion. The amount of the ſupplies for the year 1775 was 4,307,450 *l.* and a million of three *per cent.* annuities was paid off at 88 *per cent.* † 1,250,000 *l.* exchequer bills were diſcharged, and new ones to an equal amount iſſued. The land-tax was continued at three ſhillings in the pound, and the total of ways and means, excluſive of exchequer bills, but including the million of the national debt diſcharged, was 5309246 *l.* ‡

* Speech in the Houſe of Lords, May 18, 1775.

† The Earl of Stair ſtates, that the new debts contracted in the years 1774 and 1775, which were not funded, exceeded the debts diſcharged, by 274,870 l. See his *Obſervations on the ſtate of the Nation.*

‡

	£.
The expence of 18,000 ſeamen, building and repairing ſhips and ordinary of navy	1,674,059
Ordinaries and extraordinaries of ordnance	260,807
Army, amounting to 17,547 landmen and 4,383 invalids	1,597,051
Miſcellaneous ſervices	85,172
Further deficiency in the gold coin, extras of mint, and further expence of coinage	81,387
A deficiency upon land and malt	451,000
Ditto of grants in 1774	112,528
Ditto fund, three and 1-half per cent. 1758	45,446
	4,307,450

	£.
The balance ariſing from the ſinking fund to the 5th of January, 1775, was	11,239
The quarter ending 5th of April	884,447
The growing produce was appropriated to the amount of	1,904,313
Profit on a lottery	150,000
The ſale of the ceded iſlands at length yielded	50,000
French prize money 17,000 l. and American revenue 15,000 l.	32,000
The ſurplus of ways and means was calculated at	122,793

His Majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion on the 26th of May.

The conteſt between Great Britain and her Colonies was now unavoidably to be decided by the ſword, and the attention of all Europe was drawn to a diſpute ſo new in its nature and important in its conſequences. The pre-eminence which this country had gained over all other ſtates, could not be beheld, even by her allies, without ſome degree of envy, but to thoſe powers in whom a preſcriptive rivalſhip and ill-will ſubſiſted, it was beheld with impatience. This rupture therefore was attended to with the moſt intereſted eagerneſs, and the wiſhes of all Europe, if we except ſome German principalities, may be ſaid to have been favourable to the cauſe of America. The Baron de Monteſquieu, whom the paſt age received as an oracle, and whom ſome living writers of our own nation * conſider as a fanciful politician, remarks, that " ſuch powers as are eſtabliſhed by commerce, may ſubſiſt for a long ſeries of years in their humble condition, but their grandeur is of ſhort duration. They riſe by little and little, and in an imperceptible manner, for they do not perform any great exploit which may make a noiſe and ſignalize their power; but when they have once raiſed themſelves to ſo exalted a pitch that it is impoſſible but all muſt ſee them, every one endeavours to deprive ſuch a nation of an advantage which they had ſnatched as it were from the reſt of the world." A deſire of ſeeing a haughty nation humbled might therefore tend more to promote this diſpoſition, than an attention to the merits of the cauſe.†

CHAP.

* Dr. Johnſon, Mr. Gibbon.

† An Engliſh gentleman who travelled with a young nobleman of high rank, being introduced to the King of Pruſſia at *Sans Souci*, that Prince entered into a converſation upon the ſtate of affairs

CHAP. II.

Remarks on the prevailing Diſpoſition of America—Action at Lexington—Second Seſſion of the Congreſs—Action at Bunker's-Hill—Ticonderoga and Crownpoint ſubdued—Tranſport-veſſels taken by the Americans—Meeting of Parliament—Vaſt army voted—Bill of Indemnity brought in—Sentiments delivered concerning the Prerogatives of the Crown—Petition from the Province of Nova Scotia—Prohibitory Act—Treaties with German Princes—Troops drawn from Ireland—Animadverſion on the Meaſure in the Houſe of Commons—Act for the Employment of foreign Seamen in the Navy and Merchants Service—State of Oppoſition and the Objects of its purſuit during the ſeſſion—Finances for 1776.

IN this ſtate of the American diſpute, we would wiſh to be indulged in making two remarks. The parliamentary regulations which had been made for

affairs between Gteat Britain and her Colonies. He obſerved, that it was a difficult thing to govern men by force at ſuch a diſtance: that if the Americans ſhould be beaten, (which appeared a little problematical) ſtill it would be next to impoſſible to continue to draw from them a revenue by taxation—that if we intended conciliation with America, ſome of our meaſures were too rough; and if we intended its ſubjection they were too gentle. He concluded, by ſaying, *Enfin Meſſieurs, je ne comprehends pas ces choſes là; je n'ai point de colonie: j'eſpère que vous vous tirerez bien d'affaire, mais elle me paroit un peu epineuſe.*

The ſame writer informs us, that at the court of Vienna, in general they favoured America, but ſhewed more moderation than in other parts of the continent. The Emperor, when ſome perſon aſked him which ſide he favoured, replied very ingeniouſly, *Je ſuis par metier royaliſte.* *Moore's Travels, Vol.* II. *p.* 242 *and* 436. See alſo Wraxal's Travels, for the ſentiments of the Swedes upon this ſubject.

for the government of Maſſachuſett's Bay, in the beginning of the year 1774, not having been carried into effect, from the violent oppoſition ſhewn to that plan of government; and the civil inſtitutions which their charter had eſtabliſhed, being thereby abrogated, all the functions of legal authority were immediately ſuſpended. No governor preſided, no council aſſembled, no judges interpreted the law, no inferior officers exacted an obſervance of it. In ſuch a ſtate of anarchy, it was to be expected that the perſons and property of individuals would be expoſed to the depredations of lawleſs miſcreants, who are to be found in greater or leſs numbers in every ſtate, who by their crimes diſgrace humanity, diſturb the peace of ſociety, and draw down the ſeverity of the laws. But though the ſuſpenſion of magiſtracy gave the needy and unprincipled a licence to do what was right in their own eyes, every one remained ſafe and unmoleſted. This Colony had ever been characterized for an intolerant ſpirit in religion, and now ſtood accuſed of rebellion againſt the parent ſtate, but its manners ſeem to have remained uncorrupted, inſomuch that in the courſe of eighteen years, it is ſaid, that only one criminal has been executed in the province. However we may abhor traitors, we cannot but admire ſuch unexampled internal decorum!

Although defection had now ſpread over the American continent, yet two deſcriptions of men might have been expected to withſtand the general contagion, at leaſt utterly to renounce the idea of taking up arms againſt Great Britain, namely, the Quakers from principles of religion; and ſuch military men who were natives of the Britiſh iſles, but who had ſettled in America at the concluſion of the laſt war in conſiderable numbers: but the contrary proved to be the fact. Many of the younger Quakers in Philadelphia formed themſelves into volunteer companies,

companies, and the Britiſh officers forgetting that doctrine of ſubmiſſion and ſubordination which they had imbibed with their tactics, took an active part with the Americans, and rendered the moſt eſſential ſervice to their cauſe, by forming their huſbandmen into ſoldiers.

Congreſs now ſought to procure arms and ammunition for the inſurgents, and as a royal proclamation had been iſſued, prohibiting the exportation of ſuch articles from Britain, the public magazines were forcibly ſeized upon in many places. Mills were conſtructed and manufactures eſtabliſhed in Pennſylvania and Virginia, for making gun-powder, and American veſſels viſited the ſeveral European ports from Cadiz even to Hamburgh. This activity was unremitted, whilſt the antipathy which ſubſiſted between the King's troops at Boſton and the provincials, was daily increaſing, and foreboded ſpeedy hoſtilities. Occaſions for ſkirmiſhes were frequent, but the Americans pretend, that they cautiouſly avoided committing the firſt act of open hoſtility. They conſidered themſelves as juſtified in taking up arms, for the purpoſe of ſelf-defence, but diſclaimed all deſign of attacking the King's troops. Whilſt they obſerved this diſtinction, they contended, that according to the Engliſh conſtitution, they were not in a ſtate of rebellion, or levelling war againſt the King.* Which ſide was the firſt aggreſſor in the affair at Lexington,† (where a detachment of regulars attempting to ſeize ſome cannon and ammunition, a ſharp engagement enſued) every man will decide upon according to his political attachments, for both parties diſclaim it. However, this action in its conſequences

* Sir William Blackſtone ſays, that "in caſe of national oppreſſion, the nation has very juſtifiably riſen, as one man, to vindicate the original compact between the King and the people." *Commentaries*, Book IV. Chap. VI.

† April 19, 1775.

ces tended to beat up all America to arms. Congreſs being ſoon after reaſſembled, (notwithſtanding the American ſecretary had written circular letters to each Colony, forbidding it in the King's name, and under pain of his diſpleaſure, to elect deputies for the next general Congreſs) now began to aſſume the executive powers of government, and appointed Mr. George Waſhington, (a native of Virginia, and poſſeſſed of landed property there to the amount of 5000l. per annum) commander in chief of their forces. This gentleman had been trained to arms from his youth; but few opportunities had occurred in which he could gain military renown. His firſt exploit in arms, about the year 1754, proved unfortunate, but not diſgraceful. The Americans eſteemed the man, becauſe they believed him to be as much diſtinguiſhed by his perſonal virtues and talents, as by his fortune.

Twenty thouſand Provincials in arms now hemmed in the king's troops at Boſton, and although large reinforcements from England and Ireland arrived about this time, with which came the Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, yet it was found impoſſible to extricate the army from this diſgraceful blockade. The daring attempt of a party of Americans, headed by a Dr. Warren, to fortify an eminence which commanded the town, brought on the fatal action of Bunker's-hill, where victory was dearly bought, with the lives of many veteran officers.* General Howe, who led the attack, was almoſt the only officer who remained unhurt, although in the hotteſt of the action, and with numbers continually falling beſide him. The Britiſh troops, trained to diſcipline and inured to ſervice, twice retreated before a body of peaſants, who then, for the firſt time, faced an enemy. The undaunted courage of the General, which was well ſeconded by his officers, retrieved

* June 17, 1775.

retrieved the fortune of the day. Warren, the America leader, was killed in the action. Charleſtown, which ſtood on the northern peninſula, at the entrance of Boſton-bay, and conſiſted of 400 houſes, was unfortunately reduced to aſhes. The manner in which this poſt was attacked has been much cenſured: had the troops been landed on the iſthmus, near the town of Cambridge, the American works, it has been ſaid, might have been more eaſily forced, and their retreat effectually cut off: but Putnam lay with a conſiderable force at a ſmall diſtance, which probably determined the general againſt this mode of attack. On the other hand, the American general is equally cenſured for not marching his men to ſupport the party on Bunker's Hill.

The important forts of Ticonderoga and Crown-point, the former of which, when poſſeſſed by the French, had withſtood the attack of a large army, were now ſurprized and taken by a body of American volunteers, formed in the back ſettlements, and commanded by a Colonel Eaſton, and a Colonel Ethan Allen; but it does not appear that either of theſe partiſans acted under commiſſions from Congreſs.

It now became neceſſary for Congreſs to provide the means of paying the troops which were raiſed, and to defray the other expences of the war; and as no ſpecie could be obtained, the little which was in circulation, being immediately ſecreted upon the breaking out of the troubles, no other reſource was left but to iſſue a large paper currency, for the redemption of which the delegates of each Province in Congreſs bound their conſtituents. Such a mode of providing for the exigencies of the times, required that a general confidence ſhould be placed in the ſecurity: public ſpirit will often lead men to riſk their

perſons

perſons rather than their property, beſides the eaſineſs with which theſe notes could be imitated, expoſed the new ſtates to great inconveniencies from forgeries.

The title of " The United Colonies of America," was then aſſumed, the Congreſs declared, that the compact betwen the legiſlature of Great Britain, and the people of Maſſachuſet's Bay was diſſolved, by the violation of the charter of William and Mary on the part of England, and therefore recommended to the inhabitants of that province to elect proper officers of ſtate, agreeable to the powers which they poſſeſſed by their charter. Hancock, a Boſtonian of great wealth and influence, was choſen Preſident of the Congreſs, whilſt a proclamation by General Gage excepted him and Samuel Adams from that general offer of pardon which was made to all others. The feeble colony of Georgia ſoon after joined the confederacy, and ſent five deputies to Congreſs, upon which the name of the Thirteen United Colonies of America was aſſumed.

Notwithſtanding the Americans appeared thus formidable, yet they were actually very ill provided with arms and ammunition*, whilſt the moſt ample ſupplies were ſhipped in England for the uſe of the Britiſh army; but the tranſports being ſent out unarmed, and happening to be ſeparated from their convoy by a gale of wind on the American coaſt, many of them were captured by the Provincial cruiſers, without being able to make any defence. So large a ſupply thus eaſily obtained, was a moſt important acquiſition to the Colonies. It was not to have

* If is aſſerted, that there had been a time when the American army was ſo deſtitute of military ſtores, as not to have powder enough in all their magazines to furniſh more than five rounds a man for their ſmall arms, without any ſupply for their great guns.

have been imagined, that by ſuch an act of negligence Great Britain ſhould provide her revolted ſubjects with the means of becoming formidable. In times leſs courteous than the preſent, ſo flagrant a breach of duty, productive of ſuch conſequences, would have occaſioned a rigorous parliamentary enquiry to have purſued the delinquents.

The endeavours to furniſh the army with freſh proviſions and neceſſaries during the ſeverity of a North American winter, were equally fruſtrated, by the injudicious manner in which they were exerted; for though 5000 oxen and 14,000 ſheep, with a vaſt number of hogs, were put on board tranſports, with vegetables of all kinds, and in vaſt abundance*; 10,000 butts of beer diſtributed among this fleet, and 5000 chaldron of coals, yet the fleet ſailed ſo late in the ſeaſon, and was ſo buffetted by adverſe winds, that moſt of the live ſtock periſhed in the voyage, and many of the tranſports were forced on the American coaſt and taken.

The two houſes of parliament aſſembled on the 26th of October, 1775. The ſpeech from the throne ſpoke of the revolt, hoſtility, and rebellion of America; of certain perſons in the Colonies having raiſed troops, collected a naval force, ſeized the public revenue, and aſſumed to themſelves legiſlative, executive, and judicial powers, which they exerciſed in the moſt arbitrary manner over the perſons and properties of their fellow-ſubjects. It ſpoke of the diſpoſition of parliament during the laſt ſeſſion, as wiſhing rather to reclaim than to ſubdue. His Majeſty expreſſed his anxiety to prevent, if it had been poſſible, the

* The charge of vegetables, caſks, and vinegar, amounted to upwards of 20,000l. Hay, oats, and beans for a ſingle regiment of cavalry amounted to nearly as much.

the effuſion of the blood of his ſubjects, and the calamities which are inſeparable from a ſtate of war, ſtill hoping that his people in America would have diſcerned the traiterous views of their leaders, and have been convinced, that to be a ſubject of Great Britain, with all its conſequences, is to be the freeſt member of any civil ſociety in the known world. It ſpoke of friendly offers which had been made of foreign aſſiſtance, and of having ſent to Gibraltar and Port Mahan, Hanoverian troops to replace ſuch Britiſh regiments as ſhould be drawn from thence for the American ſervice. It ſpoke of burdens which muſt be inevitably laid on the people in conſequence of a rebellion, and of the pacific diſpoſition of European powers.

The manner in which the addreſs was carried in both houſes, ſhewed that miniſtry ſtill poſſeſſed a vaſt majority, although ſome individuals had deſerted their ſtandard; the Duke of Grafton, in this day's debate, went over from the cauſe of adminiſtration, together with a very eloquent and able prelate*. A proteſt, ſigned by nineteen peers, was entered in the journals againſt the addreſs, which was, as uſual, expreſſive of the moſt entire concurrence in the ſentiments and conduct deſcribed in the ſpeech.

Soon after, the Duke of Grafton reſigned the privy ſeal, which was delivered to the Earl of Dartmouth, and Lord George Germaine ſucceeded the Earl in the ſecretaryſhip for the American department. This nobleman, deſcended from the noble race of Sackville, Dukes of Dorſet, and uncle to the preſent Duke, had ſupported the ſtamp act under Mr. Grenville's adminiſtration, and now exerted his abilities to enforce American taxation. His perſon tall and dignified,

* Dr. Hinchcliffe.

nified, added force to a manly elocution: his harangues were rather argumentative than florid: without reſorting to the artificial graces of oratory, he addreſſed the judgment; conſtantly confining himſelf to the ſubject under debate, he was conciſe; and as he never roſe to ſpeak but upon a weighty queſtion, he was heard with attention, and ſpoke with effect. By him the operations of the war are ſuppoſed to have been generally planned, and to him their ſuperintendency was principally intruſted.

The Earl of Rochford retired, and was ſucceeded by Lord Weymouth in his office of ſecretary of ſtate for the Southern department, who had continued out of adminiſtration ſince the negotiation with Spain reſpecting Falkland's iſlands. The young Lord Lyttelton, who had ſeverely reprobated the meaſures of adminiſtration on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, was appointed privy counſellor, and chief juſtice in Eyre, beyond Trent. Government hereby gained the two moſt florid and ready ſpeakers in the Houſe of Peers; an eſſential acquiſition when ſuch arduous enterprizes were to be undertaken.

The number of men to be employed in the ſea and land ſervice for the year 1776, beſpoke great deſigns; 28,000 ſeamen, including marines, and 55,000 men for the land ſervice were voted*. The ſending foreign troops, without the authority of parliament, to Gibraltar and Minorca, was a meaſure which many friends

* Franklin, writing to a friend ſays, "Britain, at the expence of three millions, has killed 150 Yankees this campaign, which is 20,000l. a head: and at Bunker's Hill ſhe gained a mile of ground, half of which ſhe loſt again, by our taking poſt on Ploughed Hill. During the ſame time 60,000 children have been born in America; from theſe data may eaſily be calculated the time and expence neceſſary to kill us all, and conquer the whole territory.-*Political, Miſcellaneous, and Philoſophical Pieces, page* 365.

friends to adminiſtration thought illegal and reprehenſible. It was conſidered as directly repugnant both to the letter and ſpirit of the bill of rights, which declares, that a King of Great Britain ſhall not bring troops into any part of the empire, in time of peace, without the concurrence of parliament; in order therefore both to bear harmleſs the miniſter who adviſed this meaſure, and to ſecure the conſtitution from violation, a bill of indemnity was propoſed to be brought into parliament. The firſt Lord of the Treaſury declared himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with the legality of the proceeding, and thought any act of indemnity unneceſſary. This doctrine was maintained by the crown lawyers. It was contended that theſe poſſeſſions were not a part of Great Britain, neither were the troops ſent there in a time of peace. In diſcuſſing this buſineſs, a doctrine was advanced by the Secretary at War, and the Solicitor General*, which ſeemed to ſubvert the very foundations of the conſtitution: they contended, that the bill of rights was only declaratory of ancient uſage: that it was an indiſpenſable perogative inherent in the crown, to raiſe an army, and keep it on foot either in the time of war or peace; and that parliament had no legal means of controling ſuch a meaſure, but by withholding the ſupplies neceſſary for its ſupport. That the particular right of the crown to put garriſons into the ſeveral fortreſſes, both within the kingdom and beyond the ſea, was never controverted or denied in times of the greateſt popular licentiouſneſs. The garriſons maintained in Berwick, Newcaſtle, the Marches, in Portſmouth, and the Cinque Ports, were produced as proofs of this. The garriſons kept in Calais for more than two centuries, and in Tangier the greater part of the reign of Charles II. were urged in proof

* Mr. Wedderburne.

proof of that prerogative being exerciſed beyond the ſea. On this ground, ſay they, ſtood the King's prerogative until the revolution, and the uſage ſince that period was the moſt deciſive evidence and confirmation of the inherent right now contended for. George I. in the ſecond year of his reign, brought over a body of Dutch troops without conſulting parliament. In the year 1719 ſimilar orders were iſſued, when an invaſion from Spain was apprehended. The ſame practice took place during the rebellion in 1745, and in the year 1756 a body of Heſſians and Hanoverians were brought into the kingdom, without any parliamentary ſanction whatever*. If ſuch principles are admitted, the boaſted liberties of Engliſhmen have no other tenure than the courteſy of the Sovereign. If it is the prerogative of the crown to raiſe troops, or introduce foreigners without any reſtriction; the power thereby acquired may compel a proviſion for their payment, ſhould it be withheld. The prætorian bands ſoon rendered the Roman ſenate a mere appendage of power, and an army ſurrounding the Houſe of Commons, might once more degrade the ſpeaker's mace into a bauble.

Ever

* It might have been urged, that the declaration of rights †, exhibits as one of the twelve charges againſt King James the Second, "that he raiſed and kept a ſtanding army within the kingdom in time of peace, without conſent of parliament;" and in the ſubſequent declaratory part, it expreſsly pronounces ſuch a conduct to be againſt law. The preamble to every mutiny bill ſpeaks the ſame language. The inſtances produced of the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, were by no means ſimilar to that under diſcuſſion, as on each occaſion the crown acted either by virtue of the treaties of guarantee with the Dutch, or by another treaty entered into in 1702, both of which had received the ſanction of parliament.

† 2 William and Mary, cap. 2.

Ever ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, the cry had been againſt a ſtanding army, and a politician of great ſagacity, whoſe writings are now held in the higheſt eſtimation, calls a ſtanding army "a mortal diſtemper in the Britiſh conſtitution, of which it muſt inevitably periſh*." If parliament was convinced of the propriety of ſending foreign troops to garriſon our poſſeſſions in the Mediterranean, ſtill a bill of indemnity ſeemed neceſſary, if it was only to ſecure to that part of the legiſlature their right of deciding upon ſuch a meaſure; but when men of great weight and conſequence openly avowed a different ſentiment, and declared principles repugnant to the ſpirit of liberty, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution as ſettled at the revolution, it might have been expected to have given a general alarm, and to have drawn the attention of the houſe from the proper buſineſs under debate, to the adjuſting of a concern of ſuch magnitude. In this view it appears to have been a national queſtion equally important to this country, as that which was lighting up a civil war in America was to the Colonies. In both, the matter immediately in iſſue, was not very momentous, but their importance lay in their conſequences, and the abuſe which might be made of ſuch precedents hereafter. The apprehenſions of one country cauſed the people to reſort to arms: on the other, they gave birth to a mock indemnity-bill in the Houſe of Commons, which periſhed in the Houſe of Lords. A jealouſy of the powers of the crown is not the characteriſtic of the preſent age.

At the opening of the ſeſſion, a petition was preſented to each Houſe of Parliament from the aſſembly of Nova Scotia, in conſequence of Lord North's conciliatory propoſitions, and was intended by thoſe who

* Hume's Eſſays.

who promoted it in that Colony, as a pattern and precedent for the reſt. It propoſed to grant to his Majeſty in perpetuity, a duty of poundage *ad valorem*, upon all the commodities imported into that province, not being the produce of the Britiſh dominions in Europe or America, bay ſalt excepted, by which means the amount of the revenue would regularly keep pace with the wealth and conſumption of the Province. The miniſters ſupported this propoſition as fit to be accepted, and ſuggeſted to the Houſe, that the amount of ſuch duties ſhould be eight per cent. on all ſuch commodities. He thought ſuch an example extremely inviting to the other Colonies; and although the poverty of Nova Scotia would render the revenue drawn from ſuch regulations very ſmall, yet by ſhewing the moderation of this country, it would encourage more opulent Colonies to make ſimilar applications, and thereby break the confederacy which was formed. In conſequence hereof the Houſe came to a reſolution, that as ſoon as an act ſhould be paſſed by the general aſſembly of the province of Nova Scotia, to eſtabliſh this rate of duty, and his Majeſty ſhould have given his royal approbation thereof, all duties and taxes laid by any act of parliament in force, ought to ceaſe and be diſcontinued; and ſo long as ſuch act of aſſembly ſhould continue in force, no other duties or taxes ought to be impoſed by parliament within that province, except ſuch as may be expedient for the regulation of commerce. The nett produce of which was to be carried to the account of the province. It alſo permitted the importation of wines, oranges, lemons, and other produce of Spain and Portugal, directly from the place of their growth.

The principal objection raiſed to this plan was, that the revenue heretofore drawn from the provinces, every part of which, except the tea duty, had been

ſubmitted to and quietly paid, was more productive than the new duties propoſed in lieu of them would be, in caſe this regulation was generally adopted. Neither did it appear likely that the more opulent Colonies ſhould follow the example of a diſtrict which ever had been a conſiderable expence to government, and continued to require a yearly grant from parliament for its ſupport.

Whether the miniſtry in proſecuting this meaſure ſaw the inefficacy of its tendency, or that an over-ruling power about this time had gained an aſcendency in the cabinet, nothing more was heard of the Nova Scotia petition after it had paſſed the committee. Indeed the only thing which had procured it the countenance of government, was its conformity to that mode of taxation which the miniſter had preſcribed; for even the inhabitants of this poor and dependent ſpot, dared to exhibit a long catalogue of grievances, although living in the habitual ſubjection to a military force.

Still purſuing the idea of exacting obedience from the Colonies, by interdicting their trade, which had produced ſo many reſtrictive acts, the miniſter brought in a bill to prohibit all trade and intercourſe with the Thirteen United Colonies in America. It authorized the commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips of war, to make prize of ſhips or goods belonging to Americans, whether found on the high ſeas or in harbour, and veſted the property in the captors. A clauſe was inſerted, by which all Americans who ſhould be taken on board the veſſels belonging to that continent, were made liable to ſerve indiſcriminately, without diſtinction of perſons, as common ſailors on board our ſhips of war, at the diſcretion of the commanding officer of the King's ſhip. Such Americans were to be entered on the ſhips books, and conſidered as volunteers. And thoſe priſoners who were not ſo entered,

were

were to be ſet on ſhore in any port in Great Britain or Ireland, or in any port of America not in rebellion, where they were to be at full liberty. As this prohibitory bill comprehended every ſpecies of the American commerce and employment upon the ſeas, along the coaſt of the confederated ſtates, all the former acts which affected any particular port, or any branch of commerce were repealed, in which the Boſton port and the fiſhery bills were included. This general proſcription was followed by the terms of pardon and reconciliation being held out to the revolters, by appointing commiſſioners, and veſting them with power to grant pardons to individuals, to enquire into general and particular grievances; to determine whether any part or the whole of a Colony were returned to obedience, and were thereby entitled to be received into the King's peace and protection; which being declared by the commiſſioners, the prohibitions laid by this bill were to ceaſe*.

A petiton was preſented to the Houſe of Commons from the Weſt India planters and merchants, repreſenting the diſtreſs which this act would bring on the ſugar iſlands, and council was heard in ſupport of it; but though a clauſe was propoſed, which tended to leſſen the rigour of forfeitures of ſhips and goods belonging to the iſlands, and to allow a farther time for their quitting the American ports, yet it was rejected. Governor Johnſtone ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to obtain an exemption for the Province of Georgia, as no evidence of its delinquency had been given, except in ſending deputies to Congreſs; it had been guilty of no act of violence or hoſtility, had not oppoſed the laws, attacked the King's troops, oppreſſed his loyal ſubjects, or committed any of thoſe

* It was brought into the Houſe of Commons the 20th of November, and paſſed that Houſe December 11, 1775.

crimes which were enumerated in the preamble of the bill. The ſenſe of the Houſe was againſt this exemption*.

Much oppoſition was made to this act in both Houſes of Parliament; it was ſaid to be a formal abdication of our government over the Colonies, and ought to be entitled, "A bill for carrying more effectually into execution the reſolves of the Congreſs." That it would complete, what yet remained to be completed, of union in America againſt the authority of parliament, as the friends of government in that country, the numbers and power of which have been the boaſt of government, will be convinced, that parliament may diſtreſs, but is either unable or unwilling to protect. It would therefore drive the Americans into an alliance with ſome foreign power, and oblige them to convert their merchant-ſhips into privateers, to the deſtruction of our Weſt India trade, on which accounts it was objected to as inexpedient. It was likewiſe oppoſed as unjuſt, becauſe it authorized an indiſcriminate ſeiſure and confiſcation of the veſſels and cargoes of our ſubjects in that country, whether friends or foes; whether turbulent, diſloyal and rebellious; or peaceable, dutiful and obedient.

To compel both the American officers and ſeamen to ſerve in our ſhips of war was condemned as a refinement in tyranny. The ſituation of ſuch men was deſcribed as the laſt degree of wretchedneſs and indignity to which human nature can be ſubjected. A man deſpoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, cannot be obliged to ſerve the ſtate as a citizen. It was predicted, that whatever might be the event of the

* The bill paſſed by a majority of 112 to only 16.

the conteſt the Colonies would, to every ſubſtantial and beneficial purpoſe, be for ever loſt to this country. The appointment of commiſſioners was objected to on various grounds. It was aſked, why offer pardon to men who acknowledge no crime? The diſcretionary powers granted to the commiſſioners were repreſented as too great to be entruſted to any ſet of men in a free government. It gave them a deſpotic and uncontroulable power which the crown itſelf did not poſſeſs; but at the ſame time ſubjecting their acts to the reviſion of Parliament, deprived the Americans of all truſt and ſecurity if they were diſpoſed to treat, for whilſt the commiſſioners were authorized to grant pardons to individuals and communities, they could not engage for a ſingle ſpecific condition or conceſſion, as a baſis for future conciliation, therefore the only conſequence of their appointment would be the incurring a heavy and unneceſſary expence to the nation, for the expreſs purpoſe of ſending them might as well be anſwered on the ſpot, without any parade, trouble, or expence whatever.

In defence of the bill it was ſaid, that the Americans were already in a ſtate of warfare with us, which made it neceſſary that we ſhould make war upon them by ſea and land, in the ſame manner as againſt alien enemies. It was impoſſible to diſcriminate between friends and foes. Every Colony or ſmaller diſtrict had it in its power to accept of the conciliatory terms which would be offered by the commiſſioners. It had only to acknowledge the legiſlative ſupremacy of Great Britain, if unwilling to ſubmit to that, by contributing voluntarily towards the ſupport of government, it would become one of the parts of the empire, and entitle itſelf to the protection of the whole. A Colony ſo demeaning itſelf would ſuffer no ſeverity or hardſhip. In defence of the clauſe which gave a power to the commanders

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of King's ſhip's to enter their American priſoners on the books, it was ſaid, that inſtead of being puniſhed as rebels, they immediately received pay, which would be a means of quieting their ſcruples as to the cauſe in which they would be engaged. The neceſſity of this bill was urged, as no exiſting law had foreſeen, or provided for the caſe, of carrying on a ſea war againſt rebels*.

This important bill being carried into a law before the Chriſtmas receſs, the miniſter had nothing farther to propoſe to Parliament reſpecting America until the buſineſs of the ſupplies came forward. He then laid before the Houſe † the treaties which his Majeſty had entered into with German Princes for troops to ſerve in America. Theſe were, with the reigning Duke of Brunſwick (ſigned Jan. 3, 1776); with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel (Jan. 15); and the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel (Jan. 5). By the firſt, a body of troops, amounting to 3964 men, was yielded by the Duke of Brunſwick to the King of Great Britain, to be entirely at his diſpoſal, as well in Europe as in America; alſo a body of light cavalry of 336 men, which were to be diſmounted, and ſerve as infantry; but if the ſervice requires them to be mounted, the King is to do it at his own expence. The neceſſary annual recruits to be diſciplined and equipped by his Serene Highneſs. Three diſabled men to be reckoned as one killed: a man killed to be paid for at the rate of levy-money, which was ſettled at ſeven pounds four ſhillings and four-pence per head. If it ſhould happen that any of the regiments, battalions, or companies, ſhould ſuffer a loſs altogether extraordinary, either in a battle, or ſiege,

* A long proteſt was entered in the Houſe of Lords againſt this bill ſigned by eight peers.

† Feb. 29, 1776.

ſiege, or by an uncommon contagious malady, or the loſs of a tranſport-veſſel in the voyage to America, his Britannic Majeſty to make good the loſs, in the moſt equitable manner, and to be at the expence of the neceſſary recruits to re eſtabliſh the corps that ſhall ſuffer this extraordinary loſs. The treaty further ſtipulated, that the Commander in Chief of the army ſhould be directed not to exact of theſe Brunſwickers any extraordinary ſervice, or ſuch as are beyond their proportion with the reſt of the army. Theſe troops to take the oath of fidelity to the King of Great Britain, without prejudice to the oath which they have taken to their Sovereign, and they were to receive the ordinary and extraordinary pay, as well as all advantages of forage and proviſion, enjoyed by the Royal troops. Two months pay was to be advanced previous to the march of the troops, the King of Great Britain to be at the expence of their march and tranſport. For the uſe of this army, an annual ſubſidy was to be paid of 64,500 German crowns, (15,519 l. ſterling) as long as theſe troops ſhould enjoy their pay, and when that ſhould ceaſe, the ſubſidy ſhould be doubled, and ſo continue during two years, after the return of the troops into his Serene Highneſs's dominions. The amount of levy-money was 29,481 l. ſterling, and the total of the heads for which levy money was to be paid, amounted to 4084.

By the treaty with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, 12,000 men were taken into Britiſh pay: their levy-money the ſame as the Brunſwickers, but the ſubſidy double, being 450,000 crowns banco per annum, or 108,281 l. ſterling, during the times that the troops are in Britiſh pay, and the King of Great Britain is to give notice to the Landgrave of its termination twelve months before it ſhall take place, and ſuch notice is not to be given before the troops are returned, and actually arrived at Heſſe. It was ſtipulated,

pulated, that this body of troops ſhould not be ſeparated, unleſs reaſons of war required it, but ſhould remain under the orders of the General, to whom his moſt Serene Highneſs had entruſted the command. The Landgrave retained the power of recalling his troops at the expiration of four years, if they were not ſent back before that time, or then to agree for another term.

The treaty with the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe was for 668 men, being a regiment of foot, for which an annual ſubſidy of 25,050 crowns, 6,017 l. ſterling, was to be paid. The number of foreign troops taken into Britiſh pay, by virtue of theſe treaties, amounted to 16,968 men.

The miniſter defended the treaties as abſolutely neceſſary, in order to bring America to obedience. He ſaid, notwithſtanding in England the bounty had been raiſed, and the ſtandard of height had been lowered, yet recruits were not to be had upon any terms; beſides, in order to put a ſpeedy end to the preſent troubles, it was neceſſary to employ veteran troops, who being habituated to diſcipline and ſervice, would be regular and orderly in their cantonments as well as formidable in the field. Theſe auxiliaries are ſaid to have been obtained ſubſtantially on the ſame terms as in former times. By engaging foreigners, we avoided a heavy half-pay liſt when the ſervice was over, and kept our men at home for the purpoſes of huſbandry and manufacture; and in all probability, ſo great a force would have little more to do than to ſhew itſelf and return. "I believe," ſaid the miniſter, "there is no perſon in this Houſe who is not firmly perſuaded, that the whole united ſtrength of America will not be able to oppoſe the force which is meant to be ſent out early in the ſpring. I have the ſtrongeſt and moſt confident hopes, that America will ſubmit as ſoon as

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ſhe is convinced that Great Britain is determined to act with reſolution and vigour." It was acknowledged, however, that if the war ſhould be protracted beyond two campaigns, the treaties muſt, from their nature, become diſadvantageous; but this was ſaid to be ſo totally improbable as not to merit conſideration.

Notwithſtanding the treaties were ratified by a great majority in the Houſe of Commons,* and afterwards in the Houſe of Lords,† yet they met with ſtrong oppoſition in both Houſes. The principal objections made to the conditions of the treaties were, that the troops entered into pay before they began to march; the ſum paid for levy-money was complained of as exorbitant, ſuperadded to which each Prince was to be ſubſidized, and the largeſt contributor of forces had obtained a double ſubſidy. Their dominions likewiſe were guaranteed from foreign attack. That the King of Great Britain was empowered to employ them in Europe as well as in America, was likewiſe cenſured, as well as, that the commanding officer of the Heſſians ſhould have the entire authority over that body of troops. It was inſiſted, that the whole force agreed for, would coſt the nation the firſt year, when all contingent expences were included, a million and an half ſterling: an expence not to be parallelled in the hiſtory of mankind, for the ſervice of an equal number of men.

The meaſure at large was reprobated, not only as inhuman and ſavage to ſend foreign mercenaries to murder and ravage our own ſubjects, but as dangerous to our intereſts; for theſe foreigners, thus forced by the orders of their Prince, to become parties in a quarrel in which they had no intrinſic concern, allured

* 242 to 88.

† 100 to 32.

lured by the proſpect of eaſe and plenty, which ſettling in America held out to them, would deſert in great numbers. It was denied that this force, great as it was, would ſubdue America, and it was ſetting the Colonies an example of making foreign alliances to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the foreign force which we had called in aid. The miniſtry repelled theſe arguments, by aſking, are we to ſit ſtill, and ſuffer an independent hoſtile empire to ariſe out of an unprovoked rebellion? Are we tamely to ſuffer the trade of the American Colonies, the object of ſo much care, attention and expence, of ſo many laws and ſo many wars, to be given away to foreigners: merely from a ſcruple of employing foreign forces? The Americans, by their revolt, have, in fact, made themſelves foreigners: can they then complain that foreigners are employed againſt them? However well-diſpoſed the Americans might be to retaliate, they would hardly find any European power ſo blind to their true intereſt as to make a league with them, or indeed give them any ſort of countenance: but admitting, for a moment, that the advantages to be derived from a free trade with America, and a deſire to ſink the conſequence of this country, ſhould incline a rival power to aſſiſt the Colonies, the argument for vigorous meaſures is equally ſtrong, for to prevent ſuch conſequences, we ought to cruſh this infant rebellion with every kind of force that we can collect, before our rivals and enemies can avail themſelves of our ſituation.

The Houſe agreed to a motion made by Colonel Barré, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, praying him to uſe his intereſt, that the German troops in Britiſh pay, now or hereafter, may be cloathed with the manufactures of this country.

Beſides

Beſides theſe foreign levies, the Earl Harcourt, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, obtained 4000 troops from that kingdom, which was one-third of the forces kept there for its defence. An offer was at the ſame time made to replace theſe with an equal number of foreign proteſtant troops, the charge of which ſhould be defrayed without any expence to the kingdom of Ireland. The Commons granted the troops, but declined to accept of any foreigners in their ſtead. This tranſaction gave occaſion to the oppoſition in the Britiſh Parliament, to cenſure government on the ground of attempting to introduce foreign troops into the empire, without the ſanction of Parliament, and ſtipulating for the pay of 8000 men, when only 4000 were employed. It was debated, whether the Lord Lieutenant, by formally undertaking in his Majeſty's name, to engage for the Commons of Great Britain, was not guilty of a breach of privilege? Some of the miniſtry cenſured the ſtep, but the majority cruſhed the enquiry.*

The laſt important regulation introduced in this ſeſſion of Parliament, was a partial ſuſpenſion of the Act of Navigation, to anſwer the exigencies of the times. It was hereby made lawful to employ foreign ſeamen on board our ſhips of war, and that our merchantmen might be navigated with foreign ſeamen, ſo that no more than three fourths of the crew were foreigners. This bill was framed from one which was paſſed in 1755, on the breaking out of the war with France. A motion was made, which was however over-ruled, that the ſubjects of France and Spain ſhould be excepted out of the bill. Many weighty objections were urged againſt paſſing ſuch a law, as making our natural enemies acquainted with our coaſts, harbours, docks, and arſenals.

* 224 to 106.

arſenals. Beſides, if we ſhould be forced into a war with both branches of the Houſe of Bourbon, ſuch of the ſubjects of France and Spain as would then be in our ſervice, muſt quit it upon pain of being deemed traitors, which would occaſion an immediate reduction of our ſtrength, and as ſudden a ſupply to our enemies, by furniſhing them with trained ſeamen and ſkilful navigators. This deſtructive conduct, which only the neceſſitous condition into which we were reduced, could be urged as an excuſe for, was pathetically lamented. Foreigners, it was ſaid, compoſe our armies, man our fleets, take charge of our moſt important fortreſſes in Europe, fight our battles in America: our commerce is to be carried on with foreigners. Thus are we rendered the moſt deſpicable nation in Europe, from having been, but a few years ago, the moſt powerful and reſpectable.

The declining health of the Earl of Chatham prevented him from taking any active part during this ſeſſion, ſo that the oppoſition to the meaſures of government in the Houſe of Lords was chiefly maintained by the Dukes of Richmond, Mancheſter and Grafton, the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Earl of Shelburne. In the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Burke, Lord John Cavendiſh, Sir G. Saville, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Dunning, Governor Johnſtone, Mr. Charles Fox, Colonel Barré, Mr. Thomas Townſhend, and Mr. Temple Luttrel, were the moſt conſpicuous for the attempts which they made either to overturn the meaſures of adminiſtration, by propoſing a contrary plan of conduct, or pointing out the miſchievous conſequences reſulting from the preſent ſyſtem. In purſuing theſe views, the enormous expences which were incurred, and which were daily increaſing in a compound ratio, were deſcanted upon. The ſtate of our navy in times ſo critical, was deſcribed as particularly alarming, and the abuſes in that department

partment were inſiſted upon with great acrimony of cenſure. The hoſtile deſigns of France and Spain were predicted: a member of the Houſe of Commons * endeavoured to call the attention of Parliament to the great naval preparations which were making in the ports of both kingdoms, and to the additional force which had been ſent from the former to her Weſt-India iſlands. He aſked, Is not the French miniſtry changed? Is not the Queen of France thought to have great influence in the new arrangement? Who is her great friend? Monſ. Choiſeul. Who is the avowed enemy of this country? Monſ. Choiſeul? Who is the lover of war? Monſ. Choiſeul.

The merchants who had ſuffered ſeverely by the prohibitory acts, which cut off their commerce with America, now ſaw large cargoes ſhipped for that continent by a new ſet of men, who obtained licences from the admiralty board, for the purpoſe of ſupplying his Majeſty's forces with ſtores, proviſions and neceſſaries: under which denomination, all ſorts of merchandize had been ſent to America. The abuſe of this privilege was pointed out in both Houſes, and ſuch proofs adduced as tended to reſtrict it in future.

The formidable power which was deſtined to act againſt the Americans, occaſioned a large increaſe in the annual expences of the nation, although many of the charges thereby incurred were at that time kept back from the public eye, and reſerved to ſwell ſome future account. The whole amount of the ſupplies was 9,097,577 l. (including 1,250,000 l. of Exchequer bills paid off, and deficiences of the laſt year, 538,920 l.) which was 3,448,753 l. more than for the year 1775. The means of providing for which were, fixing the land-tax at four ſhillings in the

* General Conway.

the pound, increaſing Exchequer bills to a million and a half, and borrowing two millions upon annuities and a lottery. The annual intereſt of this funded debt amounted to 64,000 l. to raiſe which, an additional tax of twenty ſhillings was laid on four-wheeled carriages, the produce of which was computed at 17,000 l. Five pounds per annum duty on ſtage coaches, computed at 2000 l. An additional ſtamp of one ſhilling upon all deeds or writings, eſtimated at 30,000 l. A ſtamp of one half-penny on all news-papers was expected to yield 18,000 l. the number of news-papers printed laſt year being upwards of twelve millions. A further duty of ſix-pence a pack was laid on cards, and two ſhillings and ſix-pence on dice, which was eſtimated to raiſe 6000 l.* Beſides which, a vote of credit was paſſed for

* The manner in which the national expences are incurred, and the means by which they are diſcharged, although deſtitute of entertainment to the general reader, are enquiries of great importance to the political reaſoner, to gratify whom, the annual accounts are digeſted in this work. The particulars for 1776 were as follow:

	£.
Navy—28,000 ſeamen, ordinary, building and repairing ſhips	2,222,056
Greenwich Hoſpital	5,000
Towards the diſcharge of the Navy Debt	1,000,000
Ordnance---—Ordinaries, 249,655 l. extraordinaries, 223,172 l.	472,827
	3,699,883

	£.
Army—20,752 men, including every expence	1,535,705
Levy-money for augmentation of Britiſh and Iriſh forces for 1776	104,137
Five Hanoverian battalions of foot at Gibraltar and Minorca to Dec. 24, 1775	26,784
Ditto for 1776	46,837
Charge of a Regiment of Highlanders, conſiſting of two battalions	47,400

Charge

for another million, towards the close of the session, which ended on the 23d of May, 1776.

The attention of the nation was now challenged to the public ruin which would result from the prosecution of such measures. A gentleman highly esteemed for his probity, learning, and abilities; whose lucubrations had ever been directed to the general benefit of mankind, and whose reputation as a calculator stood very high, at this time came forward and

	£.
Charge of augmentation to his Majesty's forces to the end of 1775	88,922
Chelsea Hospital	107,512
12,394 Hessians for 1776	381,888
4,300 Brunswickers	121,475
Regiment of Hanau	19,006
Six regiments of foot from Ireland	137,449
Extraordinaries for land service	845,165
	3,462,282

Miscellaneous Service---Including 92,421 l.	£.
expences of, and loss by coinage	146,491
Exchequer bills	1,250,000
Deficiencies on land, malt, fund in 1758, coinage (7475 l.) and grants for 1775	538,921
	9,097,577

The Ways and Means, were	£.
Land and Malt	2,750,000
The surplus in the sinking fund to Jan. 5, 1776	17,869
Ditto to April 5	962,571
Growing produce of the sinking fund	1,837,428
Surplus, savings, and American revenue	39,362
French Prize money	17,000
Sale of ceded islands	30,000
New Exchequer bills	1,500,000
Annuities and lottery	2,000,000
	9,154,230

and declared from the preſs, that a national bankruptcy muſt enſue from an American war. He inſiſted, that the only ſolid wealth which could withſtand the ſhock of public calamity, was the ſpecie which reſted in the kingdom, all repreſentative paper wealth, when brought to ſo ſevere a teſt, would vaniſh as a phantom. This popular writer treated with great freedom the credit of the Bank of England, pronounced it to be precarious, from the vaſt loans which it had advanced to government; for ſhould deficiencies in the revenue bring government under any difficulties, all thoſe ſecurities would loſe their value, in conſequence of which, the Bank, government, all private and public credit, would fall together.* This pamphlet was circulated through the nation with prodigious induſtry: it was tranſlated into Dutch, and ſerved to intimidate the wary Hollander from truſting his property on the ſecurity of an appropriated revenue, which might fail, and a ſinking fund conſtantly applied to the yearly expences. Even a Prince of the blood paid the author a very

* In aſcertaining the credit of this accumulating company, that perennial ſpring of its wealth, the loans made to private perſons on perſonal ſecurity, ought to be taken into the account, being made without any drain of the company's caſh, ſuch ſums being commonly iſſued in their own notes. It is true, the profits ariſing from this, and every other lucrative buſineſs, are divided among the proprietors; but in whatever tranſaction the company is a party, the increaſe of its paper becomes a conſequence, and in that proportion the amount of its caſh muſt increaſe. The univerſal confidence which is placed in this grand reſervoir of ſpecie, cauſes perhaps more than fifty millions in Bank notes to be in conſtant circulation. It may be added, that the loſſes which individuals muſt ſuffer in poſſeſſing ſuch a periſhable kind of wealth, is not too trivial to be dwelt upon, when the profits accruing to the company are ſpoken of, as it may fairly be eſtimated at a very capital annual ſum, although merely an incidental advantage.

a very particular compliment * This prognoſtic of a mortal diſeaſe having ſeized the national credit, greatly engaged the public attention, yet no general panic or diſtruſt was diffuſed: both the principles laid down, and the reaſoning founded thereon, underwent every mode of attack; the friends of government cenſured them as unwarrantable and ſeditious, and the monied intereſt exploded them as ill-founded. After a ſhort ferment, the nation repoſed itſelf in its former ſecurity.

CHAP. III.

Superior Advantages enjoyed by the Americans above any other People recorded in Hiſtory—Opinions concerning their Character as a brave People—Cauſes which operated againſt their becoming diſciplined Soldiers—Expedition againſt Quebec—Death of Montgomery—Evacuation of Boſton by General Howe—State of Affairs in Virginia—Unſucceſsful Attack on Charleſtown—Declaration of Independence by the American Congreſs—Form of Government eſtabliſhed in the new States—What ought to have been the Plan of Conduct for Great Britain in reducing America to Obedience—The Howes arrive at Staten Iſland with a Fleet and Army—Their Overtures for reſtoring Peace prove ineffectual—Reduction of Long Iſland—York Iſland—and Rhode Iſland—The Jerſeys ſubdued—and the Campain terminated—Remarks on General

* The Duke of Cumberland ſeeing Dr. Price in an anti-chamber of the Houſe of Lords, expreſſed his approbation of the Treatiſe which he had juſt then publiſhed, adding, that he had ſat up ſo late the night before to read it, that it had almoſt blinded him. Mr. Dunning, who happened to be near, obſerved, he was ſorry his Royal Highneſs ſhould be affected in ſuch a manner, by a work which had opened the eyes of the greateſt part of the nation.

neral Howe's Conduct—Waſhington ſurpriſes Trenton, and retrieves the Fate of America—Franklin negotiates at the Court of France—His Character—Depredations on the Britiſh Commerce—Naval Preparations on the Parts of France and Spain—Meeting of Parliament—Great Debates on the King's Speech——Acts paſſed reſpecting America—Charges brought of various Abuſes in the Expenditure of public Money—Demands made by the Landgrave of Heſſe—Diſcharge of the Debts on the Civil Liſt, and Augmentation of the Revenue—Tranſactions on the Coromandel Coaſt, and the Impriſonment and Death of Lord Pigot—Supplies for the Year 1777—State of the War in America—Different Views of the Commander in Chief and the American Secretary—Operations in Pennſylvania—Proceedings of the northern Army under General Burgoyne——Ticonderoga taken—Advancement of the Army towards Albany—Capitulation at Saratoga—Reſignation of Sir William Howe—Lord Chatham's Speech on the Meeting of Parliament—Subſcription for the American Priſoners—Regiments raiſed by private Contribution—Lord North's Conciliatory Bills—Royal Meſſage on the French Declaration—Attempts to procure a Free Trade for Ireland—Bill for the Relief of Roman Catholics—Enquiries in both Houſes into the State of the Nation—Death of the Earl of Chatham—His Character—Budget—Seſſion cloſed.

THE Britiſh dominions in North America had hitherto enjoyed ſuch pure and unmixed advantages, as no people whom hiſtory hands down to us, had ever been bleſſed with: no age of barbariſm involved in obſcurity and ignorance the early period of their exiſtence. Arts and ſciences were cultivated ere their woods were cleared; their minds were enlarged without their manners being depraved. The foſtering hand of Great Britain nurſed the riſing genius of

of the Colonies, and an immenſe expanſe of country taught them to contemplate on futurity with exultation.* Their towns had been built far from the din of war; their people had multiplied amidſt the bleſſings of peace; their ſituation and employments rendered them robuſt and enterprizing without becoming ſanguinary. The inroads of the In-

 dians,

* A late publication, attributed to the Abbé Raynal,* (which indeed poſſeſſes all his animation and ſtrong ſenſe, but is remarkably inaccurate as to facts, and ſomewhat extravagant in ſentiment) ſuppoſes that the Provinces in North America are not capable of ſupporting more than ten millions of inhabitants, and that the exhauſted ſtate of the ſoil, will, in a ſhort time, render the lands now cultivated, of little value. But is there any thing to bound their progreſs to the weſtward? Does this writer make no account of the immenſe tract of country about the five great lakes? Are the banks of the Miſſiſippi to be for ever unoccupied, and only occaſionally viſited by parties of Indians, whoſe numbers are every year leſſening, by the vices they have imbibed from their intercourſe with Europeans? Can any phyſical reaſon be aſſigned, why all the lands to the weſtward of the Alligany mountains ſhould not, in ſome diſtant period of time, become as populous as Switzerland, Auſtria, or Germany. The tendency of the earth to ſterility in that country is a falſe aſſumption. Nearly the whole province of Connecticut, at this day, conſiſts of rich land, and though the ſnow is in general the only manure, yields ſuch abundance, that the inhabitants ſend out of the Province as much corn, and other proviſions, as are conſumed in it.† That the land in many places has been worn out by exceſſive uſe, and a total ignorance of the arts of huſbandry by which its genial qualities are preſerved, is acknowleged. In the year 1756 it was the practice of the Farmers about Albany, when the river was frozen, to depoſit their dung on the ice, to be carried away by the ſtream on the return of ſpring. The Engliſh officers in the laſt war, firſt taught the Americans the value of this compoſt to enrich the land; and there is no doubt as the luxuriance of nature abates, a more ſkilful method of cultivation will reſtore the powers of vegetation.

† The Revolution of America.

‡ General Hiſtory of Connecticut, juſt publiſhed, p. 243, 244.

dians, thoſe Aborigines, whoſe poſſeſſions they had, in moſt inſtances, rather ſeized upon than honourably purchaſed, were confined to their back ſettlements, and ſerved to keep them attentive without endangering the general ſafety. The apprehenſions from the encroachments of the French, were diſpelled ſoon after they had been ſeriouſly formed, and the fortunate termination of that four years conflict, ſerved to teach them to value a ſecurity which thereby became permanent.

Civil commotions and inteſtine wars have ſtained with blood every kingdom and ſtate, both in ancient and modern times; the Americans were not to expect an exemption from the common lot of humanity, and the time was now arrived, when the horrors and deſolations of war were to be ſpread over a country in which the banners of an enemy had never before been ſpread.

Very unfavourable ideas were formed by the Britiſh miniſtry concerning the martial diſpoſition of the Americans, and the ſuppoſition that they would make any firm reſiſtance againſt the force which was preparing to be ſent againſt them, was ridiculed as abſurd. In the Houſe of Peers, the firſt Lord of the Admiralty ſpoke with great contempt of American courage, and ſupported his aſſertions, by producing the authority of a Britiſh Admiral, whoſe reputation was very high, although he died in the prime of life. This commander * had entertained a bad opinion of the Americans as ſoldiers, from the expedition which he commanded in 1745 againſt Cape Breton, the land forces of which conſiſted of American volunteers. In the Houſe of Commons the ſame language was uſed by military men, who had ſerved on

* Sir Peter Warren.

on that continent in the laſt war. The diſpoſition and habits of the Americans were certainly little ſuited to the auſterity of European diſcipline. The diſputes which frequently broke out between neighbouring Colonies, had no tendency to rouſe them to arms, and they had no ambitious and rival Princes, as in Europe, to inſpire the people with a paſſion for military glory, to ſtrengthen their native courage, and to give ſplendor to the profeſſion of arms. Americans had not yet tilted at Americans, and it was never thought neceſſary for their militia to be ſo trained as to compoſe a firm body of infantry, actuated by one general mechanical principle, and acquiring force by the uniformity of every movement, in which conſiſts the real ſtrength of every kingdom in Europe; notwithſtanding this, the firſt enterprize which they undertook, was daring and hazardous in the extreme.

This was no leſs than an attempt to reduce Canada: for which purpoſe two diſtinct armies penetrated by different routes. The largeſt body, which conſiſted of 2000 men, was commanded by General Montgomery, a native of Ireland, who in the laſt war held a Captain's commiſſion in General Monckton's regiment of foot, which bore a diſtinguiſhed part in Wolfe's glorious campaign againſt Quebec. At the concluſion of the war, Montgomery quitted the army, ſettled at New-York, married a lady of the country, and became an adopted American. That an Iriſhman, who had ſerved as a Britiſh officer, ſhould head an army of Provincials, and be the firſt to wage an offenſive war againſt the Britiſh government, is a very remarkable fact. Had he ſucceeded in his enterprize, he would certainly have ſtruck ſuch a deciſive ſtroke, as would have rivalled the fame of the moſt renowned commanders. Early in the month of November, 1775, he embarked his

army

army on Lake Champlain, and proceeded againſt the fortreſs of St. John's, ſituated on the river Sorel, which he reduced, and made the whole garriſon, conſiſting of 500 regulars and 200 Canadian volunteers, priſoners of war, with Major Preſton, who commanded. The poſſeſſion of this place opened to him a paſſage to the St. Laurence, which he immediately croſſed, and appeared before Montreal, which ſurrendered a few days after.

Theſe rapid conqueſts, made by a ſmall number of new raiſed troops, cannot but be placed in contraſt to the operatons of the Britiſh army during the laſt war, when the Commander in Chief thought it too dangerous an enterprize to attack the French at St. John's, although it was of the higheſt importance to the ſervice to render aſſiſtance to the army before Quebec, and no communication could be opened whilſt that barrier was in the hands of the enemy. The inflexible ſpirit of the General in Canada, atoned for the cautious circumſpection of his ſuperior officer: the former purchaſed victory at the expence of his life, the latter procured for himſelf the diſtinguiſhed title of conqueror of America, by reducing Montreal a *twelvemonth* after.

Whilſt Montgomery was thus ſucceſsful to the weſtward, another army, compoſed of 1100 men, proceeded from Boſton, through a wild and trackleſs country more to the eaſtward, and after encountering a variety of hardſhips and diſtreſſes, reached the heights of Levi, oppoſite to Quebec. Theſe troops were commanded by Colonel Benedict Arnold, by birth an American, and bred a tradeſman, but whoſe zeal in the cauſe of America had led him to take up the profeſſion of arms. The Canadians in general had refuſed to fight on either ſide in the diſpute, but they furniſhed Arnold with boats to tranſports his troops acroſs the river.

The

The brave General Carleton was Governor of Canada, and narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of Montgomery near Montreal; but having reached Quebec, he took the moſt effectual meaſures for the defence of that important capital. Montgomery joined Arnold in the month of December, and ſoon found himſelf in a moſt perilous ſituation. At the head of new-raiſed men, who had never experienced the hardſhips of a winter campaign, who were daily growing weaker through ſickneſs, and mutinous through diſcontent. Puſhed on by theſe increaſing difficulties, knowing the reduced ſtate of the garriſon, and being well acquainted with the nature of the works, the American Commander reſolved to make a general aſſault. He underſtood, ſays his panegyriſt, that maxim of Folard, "No obſtacle ſhould break our reſolution, when there is but a moment between a bad ſituation and a worſe." In a letter which he wrote to a friend, he ſays, "I ſhould be ſorry to be reduced to the neceſſity of ſtorming the town, becauſe I know the melancholy conſequences, but every motive points it out too ſtrongly to be paſſed by. Fortune often baffles the moſt ſanguine expectations of poor mortals, I am not intoxicated with the favours I have received at her hands, but I think there is a fair proſpect of ſucceſs."

On the laſt day of the year 1775, Montgomery and Arnold led on the attack upon the town from different quarters; they were received with great firmneſs, which ſeems to have diſconcerted the aſſailants, ſo that their Commander in Chief being ill-ſupported by his men, was ſoon ſlain. Arnold alſo received a wound in his leg, which obliged him to be carried off. General Wooſter, who then ſucceeded to the command, drew off his men, now reduced below a thouſand in number, and on the arrival of ſome frigates from Europe, the invaders were driven out of

Canada,

Canada, and obliged to abandon every poſt which they held. General Carleton, diſdaining to wage war with the dead, cauſed Montgomery's body to be buried in Quebec with all the military honours due to a brave ſoldier; and even in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, a veteran * who had fought by his ſide on that very ground, upon a more triumphant occaſion, paid a tribute of friendſhip to "his brother of the war."

Whilſt on the part of Great Britain, every thing remained in a ſtate of inactivity, the Americans collected five frigates under the command of one Hopkins, ſailed from the Delaware to the Bahama iſlands, and ſeized upon the artillery and naval ſtores which were there depoſited, but the powder, which would have been the moſt valuable acquiſition, had been previouſly conveyed away. Letters of marque and repriſal were now iſſued by the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay againſt all Britiſh ſhips, and courts of Admiralty were eſtabliſhed for their trial and condemnation, which example was ſoon followed by the other Colonies.

All this time the Britiſh army in Boſton ſuffered an inglorious blockade, reduced to great extremities by the ſeverity of an American winter, and ſcarcity of fuel and freſh proviſions: it proved, however, a very fortunate circumſtance, that the ſeaſon was leſs rigorous than uſual †; General Gage reſigned the command

* Colonel Barré.

† Many have been at a loſs to account for the cold being more intenſe in the northern parts of the Weſtern hemiſphere, than in European countries under the ſame degree of latitude; but when it is conſidered, that whilſt the Hercinian foreſt overſhadowed a great part of Germany and Poland, Europe was much colder than it is at preſent; the cauſe of the ſuperior coldneſs of America, will be found to be the vaſt quantity of wood which overſpreads the country, and which both collects vapours, and exclude from the earth

mand to general Howe, and the Americans being furniſhed with cannon and mortars from the tranſports which they had taken, erected works on Dorcheſter neck, which commanded the town of Boſton to the ſouthward, in the ſame manner as Bunker's-hill to the north. All attempts to diſlodge the enemy from theſe heights proved ineffectual, and the town was at length evacuated on the 17th of March, 1776. It had never been the deſign of the Commander in Chief to open the next campaign from Boſton; and in the beginning of the winter an order was received from the Secretary of State for America, to abandon the town, and to remove the army to New York. The late arrival of this order, together with the want of tranſports, prevented this evacuation taking place ſooner: 6000 rank and file, and 900 ſick, embarked, and proceeded to Halifax; but conſiderable quantities of linen and woollen merchandizes were left in the town, which received no injury from the troops; whilſt, on the other hand, Waſhington, with his army continued a calm ſpectator of the tranſaction, and made no attempt to moleſt the troops, although they were much expoſed to his attacks whilſt embarking.

A number of Americans, amounting to about 1500, accompanied General Howe to Halifax; but Congreſs iſſued an order, that the effects of all ſuch ſhould be confiſcated and ſold, the produce of which ſhould

earth the rays of the ſun. Whenever the moraſſes ſhall be drained, the woods cleared, and the ſoil cultivated, the air will become more temperate.

Canada, at this day, ſays Mr. Gibbon, is an exact picture of ancient Germany. Although ſituated in the ſame parallel with the fineſt Provinces of France and England, that country experiences the moſt rigorous cold. The great river St. Laurence is regularly frozen, in a ſeaſon when the waters of the Seine and the Thames are uſually free from ice.

Decline of the Roman Empire, Vol. I. p. 262.

ſhould be applied to the public ſervice. Thoſe who ſtaid behind that were attached to the royal cauſe, and had taken an active part againſt their countrymen in arms, were brought to trial, as enemies to their country, and ſuch as were found guilty ſuffered a like confiſcation.

A tranſport veſſel having Lieutenant Colonel Campble, and about 600 Highland troops on board, ſoon after ſailed into Boſton, not apprized of its being in poſſeſſion of the Americans. Several other veſſels fell into the ſame ſnare.

In Virginia, Lord Dunmore having publiſhed a proclamation, declaring all negro ſlaves in the Colony to be free, the meaſure ſpread ſuch a general abhorrence, that the Governor was obliged to retire on board the ſhips of war which lay in James river, and after burning the towns of Norfolk and Portſmouth, retreated to Florida.

A ſquadron, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, had ſailed from Portſmouth the latter end of the year*, for the reduction of Charleſtown in South Carolina. At Halifax he took on board a body of troops under the command of General Clinton. This force arrived off Cape Fear the beginning of May, and a month afterwards the ſhips anchored before Charleſtown-bar. A ſtrong force was collected

* The Earl of Cornwallis was ſecond in command on this expedition. That nobleman, when the repeal of the ſtamp act took place, propoſed in a committee of the Houſe of Lords, ſuch an amendment to the preamble of the act, as went to renounce the right of Great Britain to impoſe taxes on America, notwithſtanding which, his dread of the imputation of backwardneſs in his military profeſſion, led him to ſacrifice his political opinions, and draw his ſword in a cauſe which he had declared to be unjuſt.

collected to defend this important poſt, and Congreſs entruſted the command to General Lee, an Engliſh officer, who had fought with honour in Portugal, where he commanded a regiment, and acted under Brigadier General Burgoyne. His enthuſiaſm in the American cauſe led him to throw up his commiſſion, abandon his native country, and enter into the ſervice of the revolted ſtates.

Much time was loſt in getting the ſhips over the bar, ſo that it was not till the 28th of June, 1776, that the attack was made upon the fort, when a deſperate action enſued, which was ſupported for ten hours, in which the ſhips were very roughly handled, and a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the men. Never did Britiſh valour ſhine more conſpicuouſly. The troops were landed with a deſign to attack the American lines on the land ſide; but being obliged to paſs a ſtream which was generally fordable, but then had riſen ſo high as to be impaſſable, but by means of boats, which conveyance not being at hand, the troops did not advance, whereby they eſcaped an ambuſcade and maſked batteries, which were formed to cut them off.

Hitherto the reſolutions of Congreſs had been paſſed with a boaſted unanimity; but a ſtep was now taken which greatly divided the Americans in opinion, and ſerved to introduce diſcord and diſſention among them. This was the declaration of independence made by the Congreſs on the 4th of July, 1776. State neceſſity, which has been ſo often pleaded in defence of meaſures repugnant to the eſtabliſhed forms of government, and to the general ſenſe of a people, was urged on this occaſion. Great Britain, ſay they, has hired foreign mercenaries to reduce us to a ſtate of unconditional ſubmiſſion: we are therefore compelled to renounce our allegiance to her as a preparatory ſtep to our obtaining ſuccour from foreign

reign powers; for whilſt we remain ſubordinate Colonies, it would be a ſoleciſm in politics for any European ſtate to league with us. We do not break the connection, it is already broken and diſſolved; and thus abandoned, all laws, human and divine, not only permit, but demand of us, to provide every internal and external means for our own preſervation.

We are told by an American refugee,* that when the queſtion concerning the independence of America was put in Congreſs, the Colonies were equally divided, ſix againſt ſix. The delegates of Pennſylvania being alſo divided, that Colony gave no vote,† which occaſioned the aſſembly to be adjourned until the next day, when one of the delegates,‡ who had the day before oppoſed the meaſure, retracted his opinion, and gave the caſting vote for independence.

The Congreſs then iſſued a declaration, in which they aſſigned reaſons for their withdrawing their allegiance from the King of Great Britain. In this paper they diſcard that conſtitutional language, in which complaints are ever expreſſed by Britiſh ſubjects, and direct all their charges in unqualified terms againſt the throne itſelf. They no longer complained of a Britiſh parliament, or a Britiſh miniſtry, but of a Britiſh King. The declaration of independence was ſoon followed by articles of confederation and perpetual union between the ſtates of America, by which the general Congreſs obtained the power of regulating all matters relative to politics and war,

but

* Mr. Galloway.

† The Colony of Pennſylvania ſent ſeven delegates to the firſt Congreſs, but the number deputed muſt have been afterwards altered to occaſion this equality.

‡ Mr. Dickenſon.

but had no controul over the Provincial aſſemblies in their regulations of the internal government of the ſeveral Provinces. Hereby the Americans engaged to yield an implicit obedience to the mandates of fifty or ſixty men, from whoſe decrees there lay no appeal; but in ſome meaſure to check this authority, every ſtate had the power of recalling at any time its delegates, or any one of them, and of ſending others in their room; and a general election was to be made annually in the month of November.

A council of ſtate was alſo formed from the members which compoſed the Congreſs; to conſiſt of one for each of the ſtates, who was to be annually nominated by the other delegates of his reſpective ſtate. This body was inveſted with various powers, for carrying into effect ſuch meaſures, as ſhould be from time to time reſolved upon in Congreſs; it was deſigned to be the executive part of government, when that aſſembly was not ſitting, and was entruſted with the expenditure of the monies voted by the general aſſembly of the ſtates for the public ſervice.

The reluctance which the Americans in general ſhewed to the act of ſevering themſelves for ever from their mother country, ſeems to point out, that the ſending of foreign troops to that continent to recover the people to obedience, was the ſole cauſe which produced this diſmemberment of the empire. Had the whole force of Great-Britain been exerted on its proper element, had every nerve been ſtrained to equip and man a formidable fleet, and had the operations of the war in its commencement been purely maritime; had the ports of that continent been blocked up, and all intercourſe with foreign ſtates effectually cut off, we ſhould not have heard of American independence, and the deſigns of France to reduce the conſequence of this country, by

aiding

aiding the revolted Colonies, would have been baffled almoſt as ſoon as formed. An effectual force at ſea, in the full vigour of operation, was the only terror which could intimidate that reſtleſs rival. The amphibious Americans, incloſed within the confines of their lands, might have become tractable. Abounding in wants, which they were unable from within themſelves to ſupply, they would have ſuffered humiliating inconveniencies, but would have been exempted from thoſe miſeries which an hoſtile army is diſpoſed to inflict, and which inevitably drives a people to deſperation. But the notion that the Americans were to be dragooned into unconditional ſubmiſſion was yet prevalent, although diſproved by repeated experiments. Hence a ruinous land war was to be maintained in another hemiſphere, where the face of the country every where rendered victories ineffectual. It muſt be owned, that it required an uncommon ſhare of ſagacity in a monarch, to decide for himſelf, how he ought to act in ſo embarraſſing a ſituation, and as great a ſhare of firmneſs as wiſdom, to carry the proper plan into execution. In the Britiſh cabinet, every meaſure is viewed with approbation or diſtaſte, in proportion to the number of friends which it will ſerve. No miniſter would have ſuggeſted a merely naval blockade, or perhaps have cheerfully concurred in effecting it. Such a plan of conduct would have tended too much to cauſe the public good to preponderate over private gain. A predatory war was calculated to enrich thouſands; a war of poſts was utterly unfavourable to the acquiring of private fortunes; beſides which, it did not poſſeſs that *eclat* which gratifies a high ſpirited nation; but it was the only conduct by which its intereſts could be effectually ſerved.

Admiral Lord Howe was appointed to the command of the fleet, which was deſtined to co-operate with

with the army againſt the Colonies. A great number of the young nobility and gentry ſeized this opportunity of initiating themſelves in the art military, by ſerving as officers or volunteers. In the mean time the army under Gen. Howe ſuffered great inconveniencies and hardſhips at Halifax; and the ſummer being advanced, the General determined to proceed to New-York, and there wait the arrival of his brother with the troops from Europe. He appeared off Sandy Hook the day before the declaration of independence was paſſed in Congreſs, and landed on Staten Iſland without oppoſition. Lord Howe arrived on the 14th of July, 1776, when the combined army conſiſted of 20,121 rank and file, of which 1,677 were ſick.*

The General and Admiral having been appointed commiſſioners † for reſtoring peace to the Colonies under the late act of parliament, and for granting pardons, before they entered upon action ſent flags on ſhore, accompanied with letters to the late governors of the Colonies, acquainting them with the civil and military powers with which they were furniſhed, and deſiring that a declaration, which was at the ſame time ſent, might be publiſhed as generally as poſſible: but theſe endeavours to bring about a reconciliation had no effect. A letter was alſo ſent by the ſame conveyance to Mr. Waſhington; but as the ſuperſcription did not addreſs him by the title and in the form due to the rank which he held under the Congreſs, he refuſed to receive it. A letter from Lord Howe to Dr. Franklin was received and anſwered.

* Mr. Galloway aſſerts, that Gen. Howe's force was 40,874. *Letters to a Nobleman, page* 33. The General dared not miſrepreſent ſuch a fact to the Houſe of Commons, the writer ought not to have done it to the public. The difference of ſome thouſands, however, is made, by calculating the force, in one inſtance before, and in the other, after General Clinton arrived.

† The ſalary paid to each commiſſioners was 100 l. a week.

ſwered. The hoſtile force which was now arrived on the coaſt, had no effect in lowering the ſtyle, or abating the claims of the Americans. The offers of pardon upon ſubmiſſion, Franklin, in his letter, rejected with ſcorn; and the acknowledgment of American independence was made the only baſis of reconciliation. "Yet I know too well," ſaid he, "the abounding pride and deficient wiſdom of your nation, to believe ſhe will ever take the ſteps neceſſary to recover our regard. Her fondneſs for conqueſt as a warlike nation, her luſt of dominion as an ambitious one, and her thirſt for a gainful monopoly as a commercial one, (none of them legitimate cauſes of war) will all join to hide from her eyes, every view of her true intereſt, and will continually goad her on in theſe ruinous diſtant expeditions, ſo deſtructive both of lives and treaſure, that they muſt prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croiſades formerly were to moſt of the nations in Europe. I have not the vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating by thus predicting the events of the war, for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed till the event ſhall verify it."

He concluded with ſaying, "Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preſerve from breaking that fine and noble china vaſe, the Britiſh Empire; for I know, that being once broken, the ſeparate parts could not retain even their ſhares of the ſtrength and value that exiſted in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of theſe parts could ſcarce ever be hoped for."—If this was arrogance, it was the defect of a great mind, which ſhewed itſelf more diſpoſed to ſpeak ſtrongly the nearer dangers approached.

The unfavourable reception given to the two brothers, as commiſſioners, made it now neceſſary for them to act as commanders. Clinton and Cornwallis from South Carolina had

had joined the main army with 3000 men. York Iſland was too well fortified to invite the firſt attack. Long Iſland, although defended by 10,000 Americans, under Putnam, being of much greater extent, was more aſſailable. The army made good their landing on the ſouth-weſt ſhore, on the 22d of Auguſt, 1776, and a deciſive action was fought five days after at Bedford, when the Americans, unable to withſtand the valour and diſcipline of their aſſailants ſoon fled; nor did the conduct of their General appear to more advantage than the bravery of his troops, for the whole army would have been cut off, had not their retreat to York Iſland been ſecured by works conſtructed on the heights of Brooklyn, oppoſite to New York, and their embarkation covered by a number of floating batteries. One thouſand men were made priſoners, with the Generals Sullivan, Sterling, Adell, and ten other field officers; two thouſand were killed or wounded; whilſt the combined army did not loſe more than three hundred and fifty men. The city of New York, and the whole iſland on which it is ſituated, afterwards ſurrendered. King's Bridge, the laſt place of ſtrength which held out, was taken by aſſault; and the garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand men, was made priſoners of war*. Waſhington, with the main army, narrowly eſcaped deſtruction on the White Plains. The Province of new Jerſey becoming then the ſeat of war, the royal army drove their enemies before them to the banks of the Delaware, notwithſtanding General Lee reinforced the flying army with a body of four thouſand men. The Earl of Cornwallis, who commanded the troops moſt forward in the purſuit, was unable to attack the rebels, through the fatigue which his own men had endured, and becauſe the whole of his corps had not joined him. This river was there-

* November 16, 1776.

fore croſſed without any moleſtation, and the views of the American General were now directed to the protection of his magazines in Pennſylvania, againſt which he expected that General Howe's force would have been turned: but no boats could be procured to tranſport the troops; and the month of December being far advanced, the army was cantoned over the Jerſeys, and the proſecution of the war to the ſouthward was reſerved for the enſuing campaign. Four months had been paſſed in very active ſervice; the ſucceſs had been brilliant, and the moſt flattering proſpect preſented itſelf of terminating the war in the courſe of the next year; at leaſt of ſubduing every thing to the ſouthward, but the unconquerable will of the revolters. In this ſituation of affairs, ſuch a hero as Frederick III. would have created the means of tranſporting his victorious troops to the oppoſite ſhore, and would not have thought of repoſe until he had cut the ſinews of the war, by becoming maſter of the magazines which were there depoſited; but ſuch ardour is peculiar to commanders whoſe intereſt ſtrongly incites them to give the moſt ſpeedy termination to a war. It is a precipitancy which actuated neither a Ferdinand nor an Howe. No reflections were at that time caſt upon the General for not puſhing his conqueſts farther, and his Sovereign ſet his ſeal of approbation by creating him a Knight of the Bath*. The gallant Carleton, who had purſued the Americans

* A writer of great name, a quarter of a century ago, makes the following remark; "A man who ſhall go out of the common road of life in purſuit of glory, and ſerve the public at the expence of his eaſe, his fortune, or his pleaſure, would be ſtared or laughed at in every faſhionable circle, as a ſilly fellow, who preferred ſhews to realities, and needleſs toil to pleaſurable enjoyment. The laurel wealth, once aſpired after as the higheſt object of ambition, would now be rated at the market price of its materials, and derided as a three-penny crown, and if its modern ſubſtitutes the ribbon, or the coronet, be eagerly ſought after, it is

Americans under the command of Arnold acroſs Lake Champlain, and taken or deſtroyed all their veſſels near Crown Point, received the ſame honorary diſtinction. General Clinton at the head of ſix thouſand men, with a ſquadron commanded by Sir Peter Parker, took poſſeſſion of Rhode Iſland, which, as it afforded a ſecure harbour, was a very valuable acquiſition; for which ſervice he was likewiſe inveſted with a red ribbon. It might, however, be aſked, why this ſquadron and detachment of troops did not rather ſteer to the ſouthward, and by ſailing up the Delaware, facilitate the paſſage of the main army into Pennſylvania, and ſecure the poſſeſſion of Philadelphia? The Congreſs, thinking that capital inſecure, had removed to York-Town.

Before the cloſe of the campaign, the Commander in Chief had written to the American miniſter the outlines of his plan of operation for the next campaign, with the force requiſite, in order, if poſſible, to finiſh the war in one year. He propoſed, that ten thouſand men ſhould act on the ſide of Rhode Iſland, and penetrate eaſtward into the country towards Boſton, leaving two thouſand for the defence of Rhode Iſland; ten thouſand in the Province of New York, to move up the North River to Albany; five thouſand for the defence of York Iſland and its dependencies, eight thouſand to cover Jerſey, and to keep General Waſhington's army in check, by giving a jealouſy to Philadelphia, which, as well as Virginia, he propoſed to attack in autumn. South Carolina and Georgia he propoſed as objects for winter. But to carry this plan into execution, he informed his lordſhip, that ten ſhips of the line, and a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand rank and file would be abſolutely

is not that they are regarded as the diſtinctions of public virtue, but as the enſigns of vanity and place." *Brown's Eſtimate, Vol. I. Sect 6.*

 neceſſary,

neceſſary, beſides an additional battalion of artillery. Such a requiſition at a time, when, in England, America was conſidered as almoſt conquered, was looked upon as extravagant, but future experience juſtified the calculation, and a moſt unexpected event gave a new turn to the war.

The inhabitants of New Jerſey ſuffered ſeverely from the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the troops, particularly of the German auxiliaries: an attachment to the royal cauſe was no protection againſt theſe depredations. In conſequence of this cruel oppreſſion, the minds of the natives were alienated, diſcipline among the troops was fatally relaxed, and a dangerous ſecurity prevailed. Waſhington availed himſelf of this poſture of affairs, and collecting 3000 men, his army having almoſt deſerted him, on Chriſtmas-day, croſſed the Delaware upon the ice, and ſurprized Trenton, the moſt weſtward poſt, which was occupied by about 1200 Heſſians *, commanded by Colonel Rhall, to whom General Howe had ſent orders to build redoubts for the better ſecurity of ſo important a ſtation. Theſe orders had been neglected, and the Commander was apprized of the approach of the enemy when oppreſſed with intoxication. In this ſtate of imbecility he attempted to rally his troops and march them out to the attack, but in the firſt onſet the American riflemen directed their ſhot ſo perſonally, that moſt of the officers fell, and among them Colonel Rhall, who, for his unſoldiery negligence paid the forfeit of his life. The troops, de-

* The reaſon which General Howe aſſigns for entruſting ſuch an important poſt to foreigners, is, that the left was the poſt of the Heſſians in the line, and had he changed it upon this occaſion, it muſt have been conſidered as a diſgrace, ſince the ſame ſituation held in the cantonments as in the camp. Two of theſe battalions had ſerved in Germany during the laſt war with great credit, and had given recent proofs of their bravery.

prived

prived of their officers, threw down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners of war.

This ſtroke revived the drooping ſpirits of the Americans: another army was ſoon collected, and all Weſt Jerſey, together with aconſiderable part of the eaſtern diſtrict, was recovered as rapidly as it had been loſt. It ſeems, however, ſtrange, that all the fortreſſes in the country ſhould be ſo haſtily abandoned, when ſo large an army was at hand to aſſiſt in keeping the poſſeſſion of them. The Commander in Chief has been roundly charged, with throwing aſide the cares annexed to his important truſt, and giving himſelf up to the blandiſhments of beauty and the faſcination of deep play.

Not ſo were the intereſts of the New States attended to. Dr. Franklin had paſſed over into France, for the purpoſe of forming an alliance with that kingdom, whoſe ſecret ſupport and aſſiſtance had at all times been rendered. This man (who formerly for many years carried on the buſineſs of a printer at Philadelphia) may be conſidered as the firſt fruits of American genius: and perhaps no man ever owed more to the time and place of his birth: had he been a native of London inſtead of Boſton, and born into the ſame rank of ſociety †, the world would probably never have heard his name either as a philoſopher or politician. Pent within a populous city, his occupation would have been more laborious, and his incentives to cultivate ſpeculative ſcience, would have been ſuppreſſed by every conſideration of intereſt or ambition. He might have diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an ingenious artiſt, but he would neither have formed an hypotheſis to account for the phœnomenon of the *Aurora Borealis*, nor have traced out the principles and operations of the electrical fluid; and what is

† His father was a tallow-chandler.

much

much more important, he would never have become a powerful engine to ſhake a great empire, and to erect a congeries of republics from its diſmembered parts; nor would he have had the appropriated diſtinction of being the principal agent to introduce a new æra in the hiſtory of mankind, which may prove as important as any which have yet elapſed, by procuring a legiſlative power to the weſtern hemiſphere. In this view he may be conſidered as a greater enemy to England than even Philip II. or Louis XIV.

His love of ſcience marked his early years *; and, as if no event of his life was deſtined to be unimportant, even an intrigue which cauſed him to quit Boſton and ſettle in Philadelphia, brought him into a wider ſphere of action, and placed him in a more reſpectable ſituation: he had, however, paſſed the meridian of life, before he rendered himſelf conſpicuous as a politician. As his influence became extenſive, it was exerted to inculcate among the people the virtues of frugality, temperance, and induſtry; and all his labours were directed to advance the eſſential intereſts of humanity. He poſſeſſed the plainneſs of manners, and preciſion of thought, which characterized John de Witt, but he ever eſcaped falling under any popular odium, either by being maſter of ſuperior addreſs, or acting under more fortunate contingencies than that devoted patriot.

Trammelled in no ſyſtem, he may be ſaid to be a philoſopher without the rules, a politician without adopting the Roman pandects, and a ſtateſman without having ſacrificed to the graces: poſſeſſing a diverſity of genius without a verſatility of temper.

* There are ſome letters now extant which he wrote to Sir Hans Sloane, in the year 1726, when he was only twenty-one years of age.

Such

Such was the man, thoughtful, deliberate, collected, and circumſpective; who, when more than ſeventy years of age, appeared at the court of France, firſt, as an Agent, and afterwards as a Plenipotentiary, from the New American States. All ranks vied with each other in paying their court to this hoary-headed ſage. Among the ſubjects of an abſolute monarch, it became faſhionable to admire the ſpirit of freedom, and the new member of the corps diplomatique was complimented in an hyperbole of panegyric *. Public admiration is, however, no proof of merit; the frivolous frequently obtain it when it is denied to the wiſe. His negotiations with the court of France required uncommon abilities, and that he has ſucceeded in the arduous work, proves, that during his long life, he had practically ſtudied the philoſophy of man.

Whilſt the war was waging in the Jerſeys, Congreſs ſet on foot a loan for five millions of dollars, at four per cent. on the faith of the United States: the Americans, at the ſame time, opened their ports to all foreign merchant ſhips, and found their wants in ſome degree relieved by the ſupplies brought to this new market. Then it became evident, how deſtructive a ſtep it had been to delude the nation by a reduction of the number of ſeamen. The American cruizers ſwarmed in the European ſeas, and our homeward bound Weſt India ſhips fell a prey to theſe vigilant enemies; by which the planters in the iſlands, and the merchants at home, were alike involved in ruin. The loſſes in merchandize and ſhipping taken by the Americans, in the courſe of the year 1776, was computed to exceed a million ſterling. In the ports of Spain and France, the American privateers found ſafety and aſſiſtance, and their

* The motto affixed to his buſt at Paris, is *Eripuit cœlo fulmen, ſceptrumque tyrannis.*

prizes

prizes were there openly ſold, until our Ambaſſadors at thoſe courts remonſtrated againſt ſuch a conduct, after which theſe captures were diſpoſed of in a more ſecret and guarded manner. In the French Weſt-India iſlands, the Americans were publicly countenanced, and even French ſhips received American commiſſions, and with few, and ſometimes with no American ſeamen on board, made prey of the Britiſh commerce, inſomuch that inſurance on our homeward bound ſhips was advanced to 23 per cent.

In the midſt of theſe commercial diſtreſſes, the manufactures of England felt no dangerous ſtagnation; for thoſe nations which now ſupplied the American markets, not being able from themſelves to furniſh the goods required, were obliged to ſeek a ſupply from hence; and further, in ſome degree, to compenſate for the loſs of our merchant ſhips, the King's frigates captured a great number of American veſſels, both privateers and traders, which they carried into the ports of our Weſt India iſlands, and thereby relieved the preſſing wants of the inhabitants.

Our commerce being thus rendered inſecure, the Thames preſented the unuſual and melancholy ſight of great numbers of foreign ſhips, particularly French, taking in cargoes of Engliſh commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of our own merchants, who were thus reduced to ſeek that protection under the colours of other nations, which the Britiſh flag uſed to afford to all the world.

The arſenals of France were filled with naval ſtores, and in every port of the kingdom as vigorous exertions were made to fit out a formidable navy, as if a war was actually waging, whilſt the finances of that kingdom were entruſted to Mr. Necker, a native of Switzerland, and profeſſing the proteſtant religion, but whoſe abilities were ſo conſpicuous, as to raiſe him to this diſtinguiſhed ſtation, notwithſtanding

every

every obſtacle ariſing from birth and prejudice. The warlike preparations in the kingdom of Spain, were alſo carried on with a degree of ſpirit unuſual in that country. Theſe hoſtile portents at length called forth the attention of miniſtry, and early in October, ſixteen additional ſhips of the line were put into commiſſion, a bounty of five pounds was offered for every able-bodied ſeaman, and preſs warrants were iſſued for the more effectual manning of the fleet: an embargo was laid on the exportation of proviſions from Great Britain or Ireland, and a general faſt appointed.

The Parliament aſſembled on the 31ſt of October, 1776. Early in the ſummer ten new peers had been created, who had been called up a few days before the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion; three Barons had been advanced to Earldoms, and one to the dignity of a Viſcount. In Ireland, the peerage was augmented by the creation of eighteen new Barons, beſides ſeveral promotions in point of rank. Since the year 1766, no commoner had been advanced to an Engliſh peerage; but ſo great an addition at one time had never before been made but in the year 1711, when twelve new peers were created on the ſame day by Queen Anne. Such an exerciſe of the royal prerogative at that time, excited great clamour in the nation, as the deſign was evidently to obtain a majority in the Houſe of Lords, which could not be ſecured without ſuch an acceſſion of numbers: but in the preſent inſtance no ſuch neceſſity prompted to the beſtowal of dignities, as deciſive majorities had carried every miniſterial meaſure, theſe diſtinctions therefore rather excited ſurprize than alarm, for the nation was no longer apprehenſive of danger from the exerciſe of prerogative.

In the ſpeech from the throne, the declaration of independence made by the Colonies was ſaid to be

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cauſed by the daring and deſperate ſpirit of the leaders there, whoſe object had ever been dominion and power, and whereby the unhappy people had been deluded and oppreſſed; that if their treaſon was ſuffered to take root, much miſchief muſt grow from it, to the ſafety of the loyal Colonies, to the commerce of theſe kingdoms, and to the ſyſtem of Europe. His Majeſty, however, conſidered it as one great advantage derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, that it would produce unanimity at home, founded on the general conviction of the juſtice and neceſſity of our meaſures. He ſpoke of the recovery of Canada, and of the ſucceſſes at New York, as giving the ſtrongeſt hopes of the moſt deciſive good conſequences, but notwithſtanding ſo fair a proſpect, it was neceſſary, at all events, to prepare for another campaign. Aſſurances of amity were ſaid to continue to be received from the different powers of Europe, but in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it was expedient that the kingdom ſhould be in a reſpectable ſtate of defence. The ſpeech concluded with ſaying, that no people ever enjoyed more happineſs, or lived under a milder government, than thoſe revolted Provinces; the improvements in every art of which they boaſted, declared it. Their numbers, their wealth, their ſtrength by ſea and land, which they think ſufficient to enable them to make head againſt the whole power of the mother country, are irrefragable proofs of it. His Majeſty declared, that his deſire was to reſtore to them the bleſſings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every Britiſh ſubject, which they have fatally and deſperately exchanged for all the calamities of war and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

The addreſs of thanks for the ſpeech, which was moved for in each Houſe, was much objected to, and an amendment propoſed: every part of the

ſpeech

ſpeech underwent free animadverſion. It was ſaid, that the American leaders who governed the people with ſo deſpotic a rule, were plain men, inveſted with no means of enforcing obedience, their eſtates were not larger than thoſe of ſeveral private gentlemen in every county in England, and it was aſked, if it could be ſuppoſed that a people who are deſcribed as violent republicans, ſhould all at once have changed their nature, and reſigned all their faculties of thinking, and powers of acting, to a few obſcure deſpots? That unanimity at home ſhould be produced by this act of deſperation in the American States, was treated as a viſionary expectation. It was aſked, what reaſon is there now to expect unanimity in ſuch meaſures as have been uniformly productive of all the miſchiefs which have been foreſeen and predicted? No prophecies were ever more accurately fulfilled; and at the time when the Empire is diſmembered, and America is loſt for ever; when foreign war is impending, the miniſter flatters himſelf that unanimity will prevail in proſecuting the ſame ruinous ſyſtem. It was inſiſted, that no alternative now remained but recalling the troops from America, repealing the reſtrictive laws laid on the Colonies, and complying with all that America had aſked, or to acknowledge her independence, conclude a commercial and fœderal treaty of union with her, and endeavour to regain all that we can of thoſe glorious advantages which in the high career of our pride, injuſtice and madneſs, we had ſcattered abroad. A war with France and Spain was foretold to be at no great diſtance, if we ſhould perſiſt in coercive meaſures towards America. Grievous and painful as the loſs of America would be, it was not however the upſhot of calamity. The queſtion of the Americans being our friends, or being in confirmed enmity, and in compact with our natural enemies, went perhaps to that of our exiſtence as a ſtate.

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The miniſterial members, on the other hand, defended each paſſage of the ſpeech, as founded in truth, and breathing ſentiments of tender affection worthy the royal breaſt. The amendment was objected to as ill-timed; the miſconduct of miniſters, if ſuch could be proved, was a fit ſubject for parliamentary enquiry in the courſe of the ſeſſion, but ought not to be entered upon when the buſineſs before the Houſe was merely to expreſs the affection and loyalty of Parliament to their Sovereign. Shall we, ſaid they, now reſign all the benefits which we have derived from our Colonies, and thus ſurrender up all our ſources of power and opulence, tamely ſuffering ourſelves to be degraded from that rank which we now hold in the political ſyſtem of mankind, or ſhall we not rather compel our rebellious Colonies to yield us that obedience to which we are entitled? It was ſaid, that the rapid ſucceſſes of the King's troops in America, gave the moſt flattering encouragement to hope for a ſpeedy and happy termination of the conteſt, and that the next campaign would undoubtedly be concluſive. In the Houſe of Lords, one of the new-created peers * treated the apprehenſions of foreign interference as a vain fear: it being repugnant to the intereſt of any European ſtate, to ſee the Continent of Britiſh America erect itſelf into an independent ſtate; ſuch a revolution, he ſaid, would endanger all their poſſeſſions in the Weſt-Indies, and in the ſouthern Continent. The addreſs was carried in the Houſe of Commons, by 232 to 83: in the Houſe of Lords, by 91 to 26. In the latter Houſe, the propoſed amendment was entered as a proteſt, and ſigned by fourteen peers †.

* Lord Cardiffe, the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Bute.

† Richmond, Devonſhire, Portland, Mancheſter, Rockingham, Scarborough, King, Craven, Fitzwilliam, Abingdon, De Ferrars, Effingham, Abergavenny, and Ponſonby.

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The ſtrong ſupport which government received, having now deprived oppoſition of every proſpect of being able to effect a change of meaſures, many members in both Houſes who had combated the American war in every ſtage of its advancement, now regularly withdrew themſelves, whenever any queſtion which had that for its object, was under the diſcuſſion of Parliament; this conduct was firſt adopted, when the reſolutions were moved for the number of ſeamen and land forces to ſerve in the enſuing year, and an inſtance of a ſimilar ſeceſſion, in which Mr. Pitt was included, was given in the year 1738, after the ratification of the convention with Spain. It was then cauſed by the pacific diſpoſition of the miniſter towards Spain, to which his oppoſers charged him with ſacrificing the honour and intereſts of the nation; the oppoſition now, charged the miniſter with having made the ſame ſacrifice to a different propenſity." There is no ſuch thing," ſaid the ſeceders, in apology for their conduct, "as ſaving a people againſt their will. The repeated and continual warnings which have been given of the dangers reſulting from thoſe ruinous meaſures which were purſuing, and of the fatal precipice which muſt terminate that mad career in which they were blindly and deſperately driven, having had no effect, to what purpoſe is it any longer to withſtand a force ſo overbearing and reſiſtleſs, upon which the weapons of reaſon and argument can make no impreſſion?" This conduct, however, was not adhered to throughout the ſeſſion.

The only bills that were paſſed during this ſeſſion of Parliament reſpecting America, were, the act, enabling the Admiralty to grant commiſſions or letters of marque and repriſal to private merchantſhips, authorizing them to make prize of all veſſels, with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the

thirteen

thirteen revolted Colonies; and an act, to enable his Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason committed in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy. The first of these bills occasioned very little debate. Lord Marchmont, in the House of Lords, moved, that "letters of permission" should be substituted in the place of "letters of marque," the latter as he conceived being only applicable to reprisals on a foreign enemy, which amendment was adopted. The other bill underwent a more minute and rigid discussion, as it went to a partial suspension of the habeas corpus act, by giving to the crown a power of committing to any special place of confinement within any part of the British dominions, such persons as came within the description of the act. Several alterations were introduced into the bill whilst it was depending in the House of Commons, and the power of committing was restricted by the expression, "within the realm," which in the original draught had stood, "in any part of his Majesty's dominions;" and the operation of the bill was limited to crimes committed out of the realm. This act was to continue in force until the 31st of December, 1777, but the time of its duration has been ever since annually extended.

As the accounts of expences incurred during the preceding year came to be laid before the committee of supply, many objections were raised to the enormity of the debts which had been incurred, the extraordinary unprovided services of the war were stated by the minister to amount to upwards of two millions; a sum which exceeded the demand upon the head of extraordinaries in any year of the last war, when very great fleets and armies were maintained in every quarter of the globe. The rate at which transports were engaged by government, and the contract for supply-

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ing the army in America with rum, were deſcribed as wanton waſtes of the public treaſure. Some ſevere ſtrictures were paſſed, not only on the manner of making contracts, but on the miſchief reſulting from ſuch contracts being entered into with members of the Houſe of Commons; whereby the public money was not only ſquandered, but the perſons who received it were bought to betray the intereſts of their conſtituents.

In addition to the money which had been voted the former ſeſſion to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, in conſequence of the treaty entered into with him for the hire of a certain number of his troops, the ſum of 44,000l. now appeared. The miniſter being called upon to explain this tranſaction, ſtated it to be levy-money, which, after the ratification of the treaty, had been demanded by the Landgrave, he having diſcovered that the treaty of 1755, which was conſidered as the baſis of the preſent, warranted ſuch a claim. Nor was this extraordinary requiſition the only one made by this Prince, in conſequence of the humiliating ſtate of dependence into which Great Britain was brought, by obtaining the aſſiſtance of his troops: the miniſter ſome time after, moved for the payment of above 40,000l, to the Landgrave, for the expence of foreign hoſpitals in the laſt war. Soon after the peace of 1763, Commiſſioners had been appointed to adjuſt, liquidate, and ſettle the claims made by German Princes. In proſecuting this buſineſs, the moſt groſs and flagrant impoſitions had been detected, and ſixty or ſeventy per cent. had frequently been ſtruck off from the original demand. The claim now revived had then been made, but was rejected totally, as well as many others, they appearing to be altogether ill-founded. Thoſe who were no friends to the miniſtry, repreſented this demand as a foreign tribute, exacted from us in the hour of our diſtreſs.

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The nation, ſaid they, is to ſubmit to every ſhameful impoſition which can be practiſed upon it by the petty ſtates of Germany, leſt they ſhould withdraw their mercenaries from the ſupport of our fatal miniſterial civil war, before they have put the laſt hand to the ruin or extermination of the Britiſh nation on both ſides the Atlantic. Even many of the firm friends to adminiſtration ſhewed a full determination to reject this claim, although the miniſter urged the juſtice and propriety of it with a laboured ſpecioufneſs and ſolicitous vehemence. However, the payment was at length voted in a thin Houſe by a ſmall majority *.

The court had now been for ſome years embarraſſed with a heavy and encreaſing load of debt on the civil liſt; which the poſture of public affairs had cauſed to be held back from Parliament, until the poverty of the crown had become as diſgraceful as to be no longer ſupportable. An account of the fatal reverſe of fortune in America, by the defeat at Trenton, and its conſequences, had reached England, ſo that the proſpect of a ſpeedy termination of the war, with which miniſters had amuſed themſelves and the nation, was clouded, if not entirely loſt, and the ſupplies neceſſary for the ſervice of the current year were enormouſly great. In this predicament, when every thing tended to ſour the temper of Parliament, Lord North was compelled to enter on the unwelcome buſineſs of announcing to the Houſe of Commons the exhauſted ſtate of the royal coffers; for which purpoſe he delivered a meſſage from his Majeſty †, acquainting the Houſe with the difficulties which he laboured under, from debts incurred by the expences of the houſehold and the civil government, amounting on the 5th of the preceding January to upwards of 600,000l.

* 50 to 42. † April 9, 1777.

and

and expreſſing his reliance on the loyalty and affection of his faithful Commons, for making ſome farther proviſion for the better ſupport of his houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown. Half a million had been granted by Parliament in 1769, to diſcharge the debts then incurred on the civil liſt; the miniſter however, loſt none of his uſual friends upon this trying occaſion. He grounded the propriety of the augmentation of the civil liſt, upon the plea that the revenue which had been appropriated to the ſupply of that eſtabliſhment, had exceeded the yearly ſum of 800,000*l.* with which it was charged, by upwards of 100,000*l.* each year, which was the additional income aſked. The great increaſe in the value of all the neceſſaries of life, and every article of expence, during the laſt fifty years, was inſiſted on; and it was obſerved, that although this advancement was felt by the nobility and gentry, yet they were compenſated for it by a conſiderable increaſe in the rents of their eſtates; was then the Sovereign to be the only gentleman in his dominions, who was not to feel the benefit ariſing from this increaſe of property? On the contrary, was he to be impoveriſhed in an inverſe proportion to the general happineſs and increaſed wealth of his people? The numerous Royal iſſue was likewiſe adverted to, as a conſiderable addition to the expences of the crown.

The oppoſition were divided in opinion on this occaſion. Some among them were willing to diſcharge the preſent debt, but did not chooſe to make any augmentation in future to the revenue; whilſt others ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that the whole buſineſs ſhould undergo a full parliamentary diſcuſſion before any money ſhould be voted to diſcharge the debt. They inſtanced the long reign of George the Second, throughout which, no application was made to Parliament for the diſcharge of any debts. In the

year 1746, indeed the ſum of 450,000*l.* was applied for by the King in his Speech at opening the ſeſſion, becauſe the funds appropriated for the ſupport of his civil government, had, for ſome years, fallen ſhort of the revenue intended, but no complaint was made of the inſufficiency of the ſum at which the civil liſt revenue was ſettled. It was inſiſted, that the revenues of the crown were not only fully ſufficient for all rational purpoſes of dignity and magnificence, but that they already far exceeded thoſe boundaries which were conſiſtent with the nature of a limited monarchy, and with the ſafety of a conſtitution founded on freedom. It appeared by the papers laid before Parliament, that half a million had been expended under the head of the Board of Works, without ſpecifying to whom, or for what purpoſe it was iſſued. The two Secretaries of the Treaſury had received, for ſecret ſervice money, 285,000*l.* and it was obſerved, that the Treaſury was not the proper channel through which money expended for ſuch purpoſes ought to paſs, for money without ſtint on public account, ſhould be entruſted to the Secretaries of State, for the purpoſe of procuring foreign intelligence, but the officers of the Treaſury have no intercourſe with foreign ſtates, and can therefore be only agents for miſapplying ſuch large ſums to the purpoſes of bribery and corruption.

The Houſe, at length, voted 618,340*l.* to enable his Majeſty to diſcharge the debts incurred by his civil government, and that the ſum of 100,000*l.* a year, over and above the ſum of 800,000*l.* be granted, as a farther proviſion, for the better ſupport of his Majeſty's houſhold, and the honour and dignity of the crown. This reſolution was carried in the Houſe of Commons, by 231 to 109, and in the Houſe of Lords, by 96 to 20. A proteſt

ſigned

ſigned by fourteen Peers, was entered on the Journals *.

The attention of the nation had now, for ſome time, been ſolely directed to the weſtern world, but ſome proceedings on the coaſt of Coromandel, drew the public regard towards the eaſt. The preſidency of Madraſs had formed a very cloſe league with Mahommed Aly Cawn, Nabob of Arcot, a Tartarian Prince, who poſſeſſed an inland territory, equally diſtant from the two European ſettlements of Madraſs and Pondicherry. From a cloſe attention to his army, this Aſiatic had become formidable, and his connection with the civil and military powers at the Engliſh ſettlement, procured him the aſſiſtance of Britiſh officers to diſcipline and command his troops. Whatever were his views in keeping on foot ſo large an army, he was obliged to exhauſt his treaſury, to preſerve the friendſhip of his allies; for European rapacity, when exerciſed on Aſiatic Princes, is inſatiable. It became therefore neceſſary, that new ſources of wealth ſhould be opened to ſupply his continual waſte: he therefore propoſed to the Preſidency to undertake an expedition againſt the Rajah, or King of Tanjour, a Mahrattah Prince, who reſided ſeveral leagues to the ſouthward of Pondicherry, the ſituation of whoſe country towards the extremity of the peninſula, had hitherto ſecured it againſt the Mahometan conquerors of Hindoſtan. This country had been long in alliance with the Engliſh, in conſequence of which his father had been attacked by the French General Lally during the laſt war, but that incurſion was bravely repelled. Pertoupa Sing, father of the preſent Rajah, was the firſt Indian Prince with

* Richmond, Devonſhire, Portland, Manchester, Rockingham, Thanet, King, Archer, Fitzwilliam, Abingdon, Torrington, Effingham, Abergavenny, and Stamford.

whom the Engliſh concluded a treaty, which Tuligee, the preſent King, ratified on his ſucceſſion.

The pretext on which the Nabob of Arcot waged war againſt this Prince, was founded on an unſatisfied claim of a large ſum of money, which the Rajah pleaded his inability to pay. The government of Madraſs, however, ſupported the Nabob in his quarrel, and even put the forces of the Company under the command of the Nabob's ſon, to make war on Tanjour. Such a force was irreſiſtible; the Rajah was compleatly deſpoiled, and his ſubjects plundered. Every thing which the eaſt holds ſacred was violated; the apartments of the women were forced, their perſons ſtripped of the ornaments they wore. Effects to the amount of ten millions of pagodas were carried off, and the revenues of the country, during the two years and half that the Nabob uſurped them, amounted to fifty lacks of pagodas more. The booty collected in this marauding expedition, ſerved to palliate the enormity of the outrage, and to render the perpetrators inſenſible to the diſgrace and diſhonour which they had brought on the Engliſh name and character.

When the news of this tranſaction reached the Court of Directors, the ſtrongeſt reſentment was ſhewn, and meaſures were concerted, to make all poſſible reſtitution to the injured Rajah. For this purpoſe, Lord Pigot was ſent out as Governor of Madraſs, a nobleman highly reſpected in that ſettlement, for his able and effectual defence of it ſeventeen years before, againſt the attacks of the French. He arrived at his government the latter end of the year 1775; but the oppoſition which he met with from the majority of the Council, and the Commander in Chief of the forces, was ſuch, as entirely fruſtrated all the purpoſes which he was appointed to effect. Not diſcouraged by theſe difficulties, but

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prompted by an impetuous and violent temper, by an undue exertion of his authority, he put the Commander in Chief, and two of the Council, under arreſt. The Nabob was ever at hand to foment the diſſention, and by his intrigues, the Governor himſelf was ſoon after ſeized by the officer next in command, and kept in cloſe confinement. Repreſentations of theſe events were immediately tranſmitted to Europe, and the Nabob, who had been the principal cauſe of theſe commotions, ſent a gentleman to England as his agent, through whoſe interpoſition, both the Company and the Miniſtry might be enabled to decide between the contending parties.

When the buſineſs came firſt to be diſcuſſed, a large majority of the proprietors voted for the re-inſtating Lord Pigot, and puniſhing thoſe who had been ſo daring as to diſpoſſeſs him. The Court of Directors were more divided in opinion; at length the weight of government was thrown in, and the Governor and Council of Madraſs were ordered home, in order that their conduct might undergo a legal ſcrutiny.

From this determination of the Eaſt India Company, Governor Johnſtone made an appeal to the Houſe of Commons *, by moving five reſolutions, which tended to juſtify the conduct of Lord Pigot, to condemn that of his opponents, and to annul the reſolution for his recal; but in this attempt he was unſucceſsful, by a negative being put to each. Lord Pigot did not long ſurvive the loſs of his liberty, and thoſe of the Company's ſervants, who had been the principal actors in this buſineſs, were afterwards ſued in the King's name, by the Attorney General, in the court of King's-Bench, and ſentenced to pay a fine of 1000*l.* each.

* May 22, 1777.

On

On the 30th of May, 1777, the Earl of Chatham moved, in the houſe of Lords, to addreſs his Majeſty, that the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures might be taken for putting a ſtop to hoſtilities in America, and for the removal of accumulated grievances. He particularly inſiſted upon the neceſſity of immediately adopting the propoſed meaſure, from the imminent danger to which, in our preſent ſituation, we were expoſed, from the Houſe of Bourbon: a treaty between France and America, he ſaid, was then depending, whereby we ſhould not only loſe the vaſt and increaſing commerce of our Colonies, but that commerce and thoſe advantages would be acquired by our natural enemies. He inſiſted, as he had done upon all former occaſions, that it was impracticable to conquer America, and declared in that ſtrong and emphatic language, by which that great man was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, that we were waging war with America, expoſed to a maſked battery of France, which would, ere long, open upon us, and ſweep us away.

This motion brought the arguments for and againſt the American war, again under diſcuſſion. The Earl of Mansfield objected to Parliament interpoſing reſpective peace or war, to determine upon which, he conſidered as the peculiar right of the executive part of the conſtitution. He knew, he ſaid, but of two inſtances in which Parliament had interpoſed in ſuch a manner: the one was by a reſolution entered on their Journals in the reign of Queen Anne, never to make peace with France and Spain, whilſt a branch of the Bourbon family ſhould ſit on the throne of the latter kingdom; the other, in the reign of George the Second, that no peace ſhould be made with Spain, unleſs the court of Madrid renounced the right which it claimed of ſearching Britiſh ſhips in the Weſt-Indies, neither of which reſolu-

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tions had been adhered to. This nobleman had ever ſtrongly enforced coercive meaſures againſt America, and in a former debate had obſerved, that we had gone too far to recede, that we had paſſed the Rubicon, and we muſt either conquer or periſh *. The Earl of Sandwich obſerved, that the Americans had no better opinion of thoſe in oppoſition than of thoſe in power, and that no change which could take place either in men or meaſures, would work a change either in the temper or conduct of the Colonies. The motion was rejected by a majority of 99 to 28.

The ſupplies for the ſervice of the year 1777, amounted to 12,895,543*l* †. for the raiſing of which, the

* This alluſion to the conduct of Julius Cæſar was extremely *mal-a-propos*. That General cauſed his army to paſs the Rubicon, in violation of the eſtabliſhed laws of his country, and for the purpoſe of enſlaving Rome: it might therefore, have been aſked, for what purpoſe have we metaphorically, paſſed the Rubicon?

† N A V Y.

45,000 ſeamen, ordinary, building and repairing ſhips - - - - -	3,206,305	
Towards the diſcharge of the Navy debt	1,000 000	
Greenwich Hoſpital - - -	4 000	
		4,210 305

A R M Y.

20,752 effective men in Great Britain, Jerſey and Guernſey, including every contingency of the eſtabliſhment -	1,751,122	
Out-penſioners in Chelſea Hoſpital -	105,279	
Extraordinaries for Land ſervice, from January 31, 1776, to February 1, 1777	1,200,602	
Five Hanoverian battalions at Gibraltar and Minorca - - - -	56,074	
German troops ſerving in America, including the ſubſidies to their Princes, of which 397,641l. were to the Landgrave of Heſſe - -	660,489	

Ordnance

the land-tax was continued at four ſhillings in the pound: the uſual duties were continued upon malt, &c. the ſinking fund to January 5, 1777, after the appropriation of the laſt year, yielded a ſurplus of 295,832*l.* and the next quarter ending the 5th of April, produced 760,363*l.* The growing produce of that fund was charged with 1,939,636*l.* a million and a half in Exchequer bills was continued; five mil-

		£.
Ordnance for Land-ſervice, 1777	320,112	
Ditto for 1776, not provided for	272,705	592,817
		4,366,383

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

Roads and bridges in the Highlands of North Britain	6,997
Civil Eſtabliſhments in America	22,262
——— in Africa	5,550
To the Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum	3,000
To the Landgrave of Heſſe, on account of Hoſpitals during the late war in Germany	41,820
For the relief of Americans ſuffering for their attachment to his Majeſty's government	32,934
Maintaining and employing Convicts on the river Thames	1,879
Sums iſſued in purſuance of Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons	13,060
Printing Journals of the Houſe of Commons	600
Forts on the coaſt of Africa	13,000
Enquiries made by order of the Houſe into the State of the Poor	500
	141,602
Exchequer Bills diſcharged	1,500,000
Laſt year's Vote of Credit diſcharged	1,000,000
Arrears and Debts upon the Civil Liſt on Jan. 5, 1777	618,340
To pay off the Prizes in the Lottery of the year 1776	500,000
Deficiencies on Land, 250,000*l.* Malt, 200,000*l.* Fund in 1758, 44,600*l.* and Grants for 1776, 61,288*l.*	555,888

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lions were raiſed by annuities, and 500,000*l.* by a lottery, the whole produce of which was to be diſtributed in prizes, and paid in money in March, 1778. 200,000*l.* which had been brought into the Exchecquer by the executors of the late Lord Holland, formerly pay-maſter of the forces, were applied to the current ſervice, and ſome ſavings and ſurpluſes in the Exchequer, on various accounts, which amounted to 7,701*l.* completed the ways and means.

The ſubſcribers to the loan of five millions, were to receive 4*l.* per cent. per annum, and for every 100*l.* an additional intereſt of 10*s.* for ten years; alſo a lottery ticket at the rate of 10*l.* For the payment of the intereſt on this funded debt, a tax was laid of one guinea on each male ſervant, not employed in agriculture, huſbandry or trade; additional duties were laid on glaſs and on ſtamps, and a duty on auctioneers, and on goods ſold by auction. At the ſame time, a former duty which had been laid on ſilver plate was repealed. Beſides theſe ſupplies, a vote of credit was paſſed for another million. The Parliament roſe on the 6th of June.

The conduct of the Dutch, particularly in the Weſt Indies, had cauſed a memorial to be preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke, the Britiſh miniſter at the Hague, to the States General of the United Provinces, complaining of the conduct of M. Van Graaf, their Governor of the iſland of St. Euſtatia, in having permitted an American pirate to make prize of an Engliſh veſſel within cannon ſhot of that iſland: of having returned the ſalute of a rebel frigate, and of having promoted an illicit commerce, and connived at the hoſtile equipments of Americans. Atteſtations of theſe charges being annexed, the memorial peremptorily inſiſted on the diſmiſſion and immediate recal of the Governor. The States

replied

replied by their envoy at London. They complained of the menacing tone of the memorial, as too highly ſtrained, and beyond that which ought to take place between two ſovereign and independent powers, united for many years by the ties of good harmony and mutual friendſhip; they, however, diſavowed the conduct of their Governor, and acquainted his Majeſty with their having ordered M. Van Graaf home to render an account of his conduct. It does not, however, appear that he was ſuſpended.

In America, the army under Sir William Howe was unable to take the field early in the ſummer, for want of the neceſſary camp equipage, which did not arrive until the latter end of May. In the mean time a detachment of 500 men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bird, was ſent up the North river, to deſtroy a very large magazine which the Americans had collected at Peek's Kill, 50 miles from York Iſland. Vaſt ſtores of rum, molaſſes, flour and proviſions of all kinds, with ſome military ſtores, were deſtroyed *. A month after, Major-General Tryon, Governor of New York, at the head of 1800 men, penetrated into the Province of Connecticut, and deſtroyed two large magazines depoſited at Danbury and Ridgefield, which conſiſted of proviſions and military ſtores. In deſtroying the magazines the towns were alſo reduced to aſhes. The American General Wooſter was killed in a ſkirmiſh on the return of the party. Theſe ſucceſſes, previous to the opening of the campaign, made a figure in a Gazette, and ſerved to keep up the ſpirits of the nation; but they do not appear to have had any viſible effect on the operations of the American army during the year. They certainly tended to impoveriſh the new States,

* March 22, 1777.

by

by rendering it neceſſary to collect freſh ſtores, but theſe the country was able to furniſh, and the credit of Congreſs, in ſome way or other, to procure.

The Americans were not backward in retaliating theſe loſſes: a body of troops under Colonel Meigs, who had ſerved with conſiderable reputation in the expedition againſt Quebec, embarked in whale-boats at Connecticut, and proceeded to the eaſt-ſide of Long Iſland, to a place called Sag-harbour, where a quantity of forage, grain and other neceſſaries was collected for the uſe of the army. A company of foot, and an armed ſchooner, defended the poſt, but were ſoon compelled to ſubmit. A number of ſmall veſſels which lay in the harbour were burnt, every thing on ſhore was deſtroyed, and ninety priſoners carried off*. Another detachment, from Providence, under Colonel Briton, made an incurſion into Rhode Iſland, and carried off by ſurpriſe, General Preſcot, who commanded there; that officer had been before a priſoner to the Americans on the taking of St. John's on Lake Champlain. The American General Lee had been captured the year before by a ſimilar exploit performed by Colonel Harcourt, at the head of a few dragoons.

In conſequence of our having regained poſſeſſion of the Lakes, a deſign was formed of making an irruption from Canada into the Northern Colonies, and by ſtretching forward to Albany, (a town ſituated 150 miles up Hudſon's river, and which in the laſt war had been the head quarters for the forces,) to ſecure the entire navigation of that river, which ſeparates the northern from the middle and ſouthern Colonies. A very conſiderable army, compoſed of Britiſh and German troops, with the moſt ample appointments, and

* May 23, 1777.

a fine

a fine train of artillery, was deſtined to execute this important plan; and Lieutenant General Burgoyne, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his bravery, ſpirit and ſucceſs, during the laſt war, in repelling the attacks of the Spaniards upon the kingdom of Portugal, was appointed to the command. To ſtrike terror into the Americans, and with a view to haſten their return to obedience, a body of ſavages had been engaged by a profuſion of preſents, to act as allies of the King of Great Britain againſt his Colonies*. Sir Guy Carleton now quitted the government of Canada, being ſucceeded in his command by General Haldimand, a native of Sweden. This expedition was in great forwardneſs when Sir William Howe's army took the field.

The firſt and principal object for the ſouthern army was the reduction of Philadelphia; but the ſecretary for the Colonies had recommended to the Commander in Chief, to make a warm diverſion on the coaſts of Maſſachuſet's Bay and New Hampſhire, in order to weaken the American force in the back ſettlements; but though a requiſition of 15,000 men had been made to reinforce the army, only 2900 were ſent; notwithſtanding which deficiency, the official diſpatches expreſſed the fulleſt expectations that every meaſure which had been planned would be effected. The force which had been ſufficient to take poſſeſſion of New York, Rhode Iſland, and other ſtrong holds of the enemy, after the neceſſary diviſions were made for preſerving the variety of poſts which had been gained, could not be equally ſuitable to the making of new conqueſts, the number of troops for the field

* It appears by papers laid before the Houſe of Commons, that the expence of retaining theſe Indians, amounted to 150,000l. and not more than ſeven or eight hundred were ſaid to have been in the field at any one time.

being

being thereby neceſſarily decreaſed. The General and Admiral repreſented this to the miniſter, and that the diverſion to the northward muſt be conſequently laid aſide. Sir Guy Carleton, who was then in Quebec, was informed, that General Howe would probably be in Pennſylvania, at the time when the northern army would be ready to enter the Province of New York. That little aſſiſtance was to be expected from him to facilitate its approach, as a want of ſufficient ſtrength in his own army would probably not admit of his detaching a corps to act up Hudſon's River in the beginning of the campaign.

Waſhington, who was now appointed to the diſtinguiſhed rank of dictator, commanded an army much ſuperior to that in the laſt campaign; the Provincial officers were much improved, and ſeveral French officers had arrived, together with fifty pieces of braſs cannon †. The Americans occupied a very ſtrong and advantageous camp in the Jerſeys, which the Britiſh General endeavoured by ſtratagem to induce their General to quit, in hopes of bringing on a general engagement, well knowing that with ſuch an enemy in force, and hanging upon his rear, it would be impoſſible for him to penetrate through the Jerſeys, and paſs his army acroſs the Delaware, where the enemy had a corps ready to diſpute the paſſage. But

† The Marquis Fayette, nephew to M. de Noailles, the French Ambaſſador at the court of London, who had reſided with his uncle for ſome time, and who lived in the moſt unreſerved intimacy with many of the confidential ſervants of the crown, having obtained very important information concerning the plan of operations for the campaign, particularly reſpecting the northern army, ſuddenly withdrew to France, and without communicating his intentions to any of his relations, or obtaining leave of abſence from his court, which, as an officer in the French King's ſervice was requiſite, he embarked on board a veſſel bound to America, to ſerve in the army commanded by Waſhington.

the cattion of that Commander was not to be circumvented; ſo that Howe, after having made a feint of retiring from the American lines, which drew after it no deciſive conſequence, was obliged to relinquiſh his attempt, and with great delay and danger to adopt a new and diſtant plan of operation, by embarking his army in tranſports, and proceeding to the ſcene of action by ſea. Waiting for the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton from Europe, who was to command at New York, and to hear from General Burgoyne, retarded the ſailing of the fleet until the 23d of July. The main army which embarked conſiſted of 14,000 men; 8500 were left at New York, excluſive of the ſick and recovering; and 3000 defended Rhode Iſland.

The fleet arrived at the mouth of the Delaware on the 30th, and if a landing could have been effected on the ſouthern coaſt near Wilmington, the ſervice would have received a moſt eſſential benefit; but a number of floating batteries, fire-ſhips and fire-rafts, had been collected by the enemy, which would have endangered the deſtruction of the fleet in the night. There were only eight or nine pilots on board, and no boats capable of withſtanding the row-boats and gallies *. Theſe circumſtances rendered an attempt to land extremely hazardous. The country too was very marſhy, and the roads formed upon narrow cauſeways, interſected by creeks †. Theſe difficulties and dangers determined the land and naval commander to proceed two degrees farther to the ſouthward, to Cheſapeak Bay; but in this courſe they were greatly impeded by contrary winds, the wind blowing generally from ſome point of the ſouthward in that ſeaſon of the year. On the 16th of Auguſt

* Evidence of Sir Andrew Snape Hammond before the Houſe of Commons.

† Sir William Howe's narrative.

the whole fleet entered the Bay, and proceeded through a difficult and dangerous navigation to the mouth of the river Elk, in which progreſs the ſkill and activity of the Admiral appeared to great advantage. The whole army landed in ſafety on the 25th. Waſhington, as ſoon as the deſtination of the fleet was known (for the alarm had been ſpread from Boſton even to South Carolina), paſſed the Delaware with his army, conſiſting of 15,000 men, and marched to cover Philadelphia. The two armies approached each other at a ſmall ſtream called Brandywine-creek, which falls into the Delaware, about twenty miles below the city. After ſeveral movements on each ſide, Sir William Howe, by a maſterly diſplay of generalſhip, found a favourable opportunity for attacking the American army*. The Heſſians, who came firſt into action, behaved with ſuch intrepidity as nothing could reſiſt. The enemy every where broken and diſmayed, fled. A few hours more day-light might have annihilated their army, but under cover of the night, aſſiſted by a knowledge of the country, they retreated †. No time appears to have been loſt in purſuing the fugitives, conſiſtent with the ſafety of the troops, in a country rendered every where ſtrong by nature, hilly, and covered with wood, interſected by ravines, creeks and marſhy grounds, where little or no knowledge can be obtained by reconnoitering ‡. Waſh-

* Sept. 11, 1777.

† Lord George Germaine ſtated to the Houſe of Commons, (Dec. 2, 1777) General Howe's numbers in this action to be 13,000 rank and file, doing duty, and Waſhington's force to be 15,000, excluſive of militia. Officers of every denomination, are conſidered as an addition of about one ſixth, to the numbers of rank and file.

‡ Evidence of Major General Grey before the Houſe of Commons. The evidence of Lord Cornwallis went likewiſe to prove, that the General loſt no time after the action; but a petulant detractor has aſſerted the contrary.

ington

ington did every thing becoming a ſkilful commander to impede the progreſs of the victors, but unable to protect the city, he abandoned it to its fate, and retreated ten miles to the north of German town, whilſt the combined army ſoon after encamped at that village. The Earl of Cornwallis took poſſeſſion of Philadelphia on the 26th of September.

In the mean time Lord Howe proceeded with the fleet round to the Delaware, but an unfortunate overſight had been committed in neglecting to take poſſeſſion of a ſtation the eaſtern ſide of the river, called Red Bank, which the enemy afterwards fortified, and in an unſucceſsful attempt to diſpoſſeſs them, Colonel Donop, of the Heſſians, and many brave men, loſt their lives*. It was not until the 15th of November that the navigation of the river was opened as high as the city, by the reduction of Mud Iſland, and the removal of the *chevaux-de-frize*, in which ſervice the Auguſta, a ſixty gun ſhip, and a ſloop, went aground, and were deſtroyed.

A few days after the arrival of the King's troops at Philadelphia, General Waſhington formed a deſign of ſurprizing the army at German town, and early in the morning of the 4th of October, attacked the outpoſts with great fury. The intrepid behaviour of Lieutenant Colonel Muſgrave ſtopped the advances of the aſſailants, and gave time for Major General Grey, who had been apprized of the attack by Sir William Howe, to march a body of troops to their relief, and the army being quickly aſſembled, the Americans were driven back with great ſlaughter.

The army was now plentifully ſupplied with proviſions from the adjacent country, the farmers preferring that market to any other, becauſe the only

* October 22, 1777.

one

one where they could receive payment for their commodities in gold and ſilver. They had the farther advantage of providing themſelves and families with a variety of neceſſary articles, which could only be had in thoſe places which were poſſeſſed by the Britiſh army and navy. It is ſuppoſed that Waſhington, through policy, connived at this kind of commerce, knowing that an influx of gold and ſilver was ſtrengthening his country in a moſt important point *.

The noble, populous and wealthy city of Philadelphia, was now ſubdued; but the rebel army remained unbroken. It was even augmented in numbers, improved in diſcipline, habituated to ſervice, and though degraded by a defeat and a repulſe, yet ſecure in the perſuaſion that the nature of their country would ever protect them from a deciſive overthrow. Such ſucceſſes on the part of Great Britain, could yield little rational hopes of final triumph in the war againſt America, even if conqueſts ſhould continue to ſpread in the like gradual manner as they had done during two campaigns. But ſuch an expectancy, ſo ſhort of the ſanguine views entertained in England, was entirely vain. From whence could the force be drawn, that ſhould carry on an active war during the next campaign, ſuppoſing the northern army had accompliſhed its purpoſe, and penetrated to Albany? Had that event taken place, terror alone muſt have effected what force could not have done, and no indications were ſhewn by the Coloniſts, when their affairs wore the moſt diſaſtrous appearance, of a diſpoſition to yield unconditional ſubmiſſion to this empire, and how was ſo extenſive a country to be governed by the ſword? Every conqueſt weakened the operating force equally as a de-

* Sir William Howe's narrative, page 43.

feat; but such a regular course of events was not destined to take place, and it is now necessary to speak of the expedition from Canada, and to follow the northern army in its progress.

Lieutenant General Burgoyne proceeded with his army, consisting of upwards of 7000 men, across Lake Champlain, and arrived before Ticonderoga on the 2d of July, 1777. General St. Clare, who commanded that fortress, abandoned it in the night of the 6th, before any attack could be made; for which conduct he was afterwards tried by a Court-martial, and found guilty of neglect of duty. A small part of the garrison reached Fort Edward, situated on Hudson's river, twenty five miles from Lake George, where General Schuyler commanded, but the far greater number was either killed, made prisoners, or driven into the woods, where many perished.

The General sent immediate notice of this to Sir William Howe, who was waiting for advices from the northern army, before he would venture to sail towards the southward; but so favourable an outset seemed to promise a successful progress to Albany, therefore leaving general instructions with Sir Henry Clinton, to act offensively, in case an opportunity should offer, consistent with the security of New York, the Commander in Chief proceeded, as has been already related.

In the mean time Burgoyne met with such unparalleled difficulties in advancing towards Fort Edward, that it was the end of July before he appeared there. The Americans immediately abandoned the place and retreated to Saratoga. The savages who accompanied the British army, were not to be witheld, by the influence and authority of the General, from acts of cruelty towards the helpless and peaceable inhabi-

tants

tants of these secluded districts. These barbarities were represented through the country in all their horrors, and most probably with many exaggerations, which roused the people every where to stand upon their defence*. The dread of the tomahawk and scalping-knife inspired the most timid with courage. Impelled by despair, the Americans assembled in great numbers, whilst the combined army having crossed Hudson's River, advanced towards the Plains of Saratoga. Although payment in money was offered for whatever provisions should be brought to the camp, yet no supply was obtained. Foraging parties were sent out, which were betrayed by pretended friends, surprized, killed or made prisoners.

Besides the army under General Burgoyne, a body of troops, consisting of near 700 men, with a party of Indians, commanded by Lieut. Colonel St. Leger,

* General Burgoyne issued a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to return to their allegiance, and threatening them with the merciless ravages of the Indians, if they continued in rebellion. He afterwards declared in the House of Commons, that his design herein was to excite obedience; first, by encouragement, and next by the threat, not the commission of severity: to speak daggers but to use none. He instanced two wounded provincial officers, who were brought off in the midst of fire, upon the backs of Indians, and a Captain and his whole detachment, placed in ambuscade, were brought prisoners by Indians, without a man hurt, though they were placed for the special purpose of destroying those Indians. The case of Miss Macrae excepted, which was accidental, not premeditated cruelty; he said, the stories on which such charges were founded, were fabricated by committees, and propagated in newspapers, for temporary purposes. The General stipulated with the Indians, that they should receive compensation for prisoners, and that not only such compensation should be withheld, but a strict account demanded for scalps. They were prohibited from scalping the wounded, or even the dying, and the persons of aged men, women, children, and prisoners, were declared to be sacred even in assaults.

proceeded by the Mohawk River, and inveſted Fort Stanwix, which was commanded by Colonel Ganſevoort, a name which ought to be tranſmitted on account of the unſhaken firmneſs with which he defended the place. A body of Americans advancing to its relief, were defeated by a party of Indians, but ſeveral of their moſt reſpected warriors fell in the action, which, together with the reſtraints which were laid on their ſavage thirſt of blood, gave them a hearty diſreliſh of the ſervice. St. Leger, in vain attempted, both by offers of advantageous terms, upon ſurrender, and by threats of utter extirpation in caſe of obſtinate perſeverance, to gain poſſeſſion of the place; and the approach of Arnold with a conſiderable army, obliged him at length to retire from the fort, the Indians who accompanied him having haſtily reſolved to return home; but before they ſeparated themſelves, they committed depredations upon their allies with impunity. This defection, and the enemy he had to encounter, obliged St. Leger to retire to Canada, and abandon General Burgoyne with the main body of the troops, which were now reduced to 3,500 fighting men, not 2000 of which were Britiſh; the Canadians and Provincials having, in general, deſerted. The army thus reduced in numbers, engaged the provincial militia commanded by Major-General Gates, an Engliſhman, and who had ſerved as an officer during the laſt war. The former remained maſters of the field and the latter retired in good order *.

The perilous ſituation of the northern army being now known at New York, Sir Henry Clinton, with a conſiderable body of troops, embarked in armed gallies and ſmall veſſels, and having ſome frigates under the command of Commodore Hotham, pro-

* September 19, 1777.

ceeded

ceeded up Hudſon's River, with a view to gain Albany, and thereby open a communication with Burgoyne. Some forts were taken and deſtroyed. Sir James Wallace, with a ſquadron of ſmall frigates, and General Vaughan, at the head of a body of light troops, ſpread terror and deſtruction wherever they went; the village of Æſopus was reduced to aſhes †, and every principle of humanity ſeemed to be abſorbed in a zeal for extirpating irreclaimable rebels.

Various were the attempts made to convey information to General Burgoyne of the approach of ſuccours, but they were in general defeated by the treachery of ſome entruſted with the ſecret. On the 7th of October, Burgoyne fought a deſperate battle with Arnold, but was obliged to retreat into his camp, where he was ſoon after attacked with great fury, but in this onſet Arnold received a wound, and his troops were ſoon after repulſed. The combined army now lay a few miles ſouth of Saratoga, on the way to Albany; to the latter place it was impracticable to penetrate, but to the former it afforded a retreat. The only remaining hope conſiſted in retiring to Fort Edward, but no more than three days proviſion, upon ſhort allowance, remained in ſtore, and the camp was inveſted with an army of 16,000 men, which occupied every paſs. In this extremity a council of war was called on the 13th of October, compoſed of the Generals, field officers, and Captains commanding corps, wherein it was reſolved to open a treaty with Major-General Gates, and three days after a convention was ſigned, whereby it was ſtipulated, that the Britiſh and Heſſian troops ſhould march out of the camp with all the honours of war, and their artillery, to a place appointed, where they ſhould depoſit their arms. They were to be allowed a free embarkation and paſſage

† October 16, 1777.

from

from Boſton to Europe, on condition of their not ſerving again in America during the war: the officers to be admitted on parole, and to wear their ſide arms; all private property to remain unmoleſted, and public ſtores of all kinds to be delivered up upon honour.

Whilſt the vanquiſhed army was employed in the irkſome taſk of piling their arms, the American General felt as an Engliſhman; and to alleviate, as much as poſſible, the painful ſituation of his countrymen, drew off his whole army, ſo that none of his men were ſpectators of the tranſaction. It is truly memorable, that this *devoted* army, received theſe honourable terms of capitulation, on the very day when the defenceleſs town of Æſopus was wantonly laid in ruins.

Several inſtances occur in the hiſtory of Europe, during the preſent century, of ſimilar misfortunes befalling large bodies of troops. At the battle of Blenheim, 13,000 men, the beſt troops in France, laid down their arms without firing a volley. Some years after 14,000 Swedes, commanded by Charles XII. till then invincible, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion to an army of Ruſſians. The fate of 5000 Britiſh troops, under General Stanhope, in New Caſtile, in the year 1710, is well known.

The Congreſs, upon various pretences, afterwards refuſed to ratify this convention; ſo that the troops remained priſoners of war for more than three years; and when they were at length embarked, not one ſixth part of their original numbers were muſtered, the far greater part having aſſimilated themſelves to their conquerors *.

* The army which ſurrendered amounted to upwards of 5,600 men, officers included; the non-effective men at the time of the capitulation, muſt therefore have been a very conſiderable number.

The

The army under Sir William Howe repoſed in comfortable winter quarters at Philadelphia, whilſt Waſhington, now reinforced with 4000 men from the northern army, and a large train of artillery, advanced to White-marſh, and ſoon after removed to Valley-forge, where his troops were obliged to continue during the ſeverities of winter in a hutted camp, twenty-two miles from the capital. Here he entrenched himſelf in ſo ſtrong a manner that Sir William Howe thought it not adviſeable to attack him.

It appears that diſcipline was much better maintained, whilſt the combined army continued in Pennſylvania, than in the Jerſeys, the preceding winter. But though the army was well ſupplied with neceſſaries, the inhabitants, to the amount of 20,000, were reduced to great diſtreſs. The Quakers in England were no ſooner informed of the ſufferings of their brethren in Philadelphia, than ſome ſhips were immediately freighted with ſuch articles as were moſt wanted for their ſupport and relief.

The Britiſh Commander had in vain remonſtrated for more troops, and imagining that he had loſt the confidence of government, ſolicited his Majeſty's permiſſion to withdraw from the command, which he immediately obtained. The conduct of this General has been ſeverely ſcrutinized, and every endeavour has been uſed to attribute to his *wilful* neglect, the procraſtination of the war in America. The Heſſian commander was heard to declare, "that if Great Britain had paid her General by the Job, and not by the day the buſineſs would have been ſoon ſettled;" but the future events of the war have certainly weakened the force of the attacks upon Sir William Howe. It is much eaſier to decide upon what ought to be the operations of an army over a map, than to effect thoſe purpoſes in the field. General Amherſt, in the laſt

laſt war, was employed two campaigns in driving 5000 French troops out of America; but the nation was then as much diſpoſed to be pleaſed, as it has ſince been provoked to diſcontent. The enemies of Howe readily allow him to poſſeſs an uncommon ſhare of perſonal courage and great profeſſional ſkill. His habits of diſſipation were ſuch as military men are more particularly addicted to, they were no leſs predominant in Marſhal Saxe, notwithſtanding which, he is now conſidered as the firſt General of his age. We are not, at this day, to lay claim to the extraordinary gifts of public ſpirit.

Sir William Howe has been loudly and generally blamed as deſerting the northern army, by undertaking his Southern expedition. His juſtification of himſelf appears forcible, not to ſay concluſive. By proceeding to the ſouthward, he effected a powerful diverſion in favour of General Burgoyne, by drawing off the main American army. On the other hand, had he advanced up Hudſon's River, Waſhington, with his whole force, would have either cut off his communication with New York, or with the northern army. The cry would then have been, that he had waſted the campaign in accompliſhing what would have ſucceeded as well without him. By the fall of Ticonderoga, his aſſiſtance ſeemed to become unneceſſary, as rapid ſucceſs was expected to follow. Had he then proceeded with his army to the ſuccour of the victorious General, he would have been thought enviouſly to have graſped at a ſhare of that glory which would otherwiſe have been entirely due to the northern Chieftain. Add to this, that his inſtructions, inſtead of directing ſuch a conjunct plan of operations, pointed out Philadelphia as his object.

Among the plans ſuggeſted in the beginning of the year 1777, for the deſtination of the northern army, one

one was, to embark it at Quebec, in order either to effect a conjunction with Sir William Howe by ſea, or to employ it ſeparately, to co-operate with the main deſigns by ſuch means as ſhould be within its ſtrength, upon other parts of the continent. The event has ſhewn, how much preferable it would have been to have given ſuch a direction to the campaign.

The parliament aſſembled on the 20th of November, 1777. The King's ſpeech ſpoke of the neceſſity of continuing the war in America, and of the probability that it would be neceſſary not only to keep the forces complete to their eſtabliſhment, but to encreaſe them by contracting engagements. Of the diſpoſition of foreign powers it ſpoke doubtfully. His Majeſty ſaid, " as on the one hand I am determined that the peace of Europe ſhall not be diſturbed by me, ſo on the other I ſhall always be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown of Great Britain."

The addreſs in anſwer to the King's ſpeech was moved for in the Houſe of Commons by Lord Hyde, and ſeconded by Sir Gilbert Elliot, the latter of whom gave a looſe to the fervour of youth, and paid the moſt laviſh compliments to the wiſdom and equity of adminiſtration, declaring, that the rectitude of their meaſures was ſo demonſtrable, that he was amazed a ſingle Engliſhman could be found hardy enough to oppoſe them, and juſtify the American rebels. It had long been the practice of government to diſſeminate, by every means which unbounded influence ſupplied, the opinion, that all the oppoſers of public meaſures were unprincipled, clamorous and ſeditious men, who only aimed at embarraſſing and diſtreſſing thoſe in power, in hopes of rendering their poſts untenable, and advancing themſelves to envied pre-eminence. Foreigners have deſcribed the go-

vernment

vernment of England as more tempeſtuous than the ſea which ſurrounds the iſland; but amidſt the body of the people this fury has of late very much abated: The preſent age, grown weary of the political as well as religious diſputations, in which their forefathers had deeply intereſted themſelves, and diſguſted at the conduct of many profeſſed patriots, who had renounced their principles to acquire power, were eaſily prevailed upon to place a confidence in their rulers, and to entertain the moſt incurable ſuſpicions of thoſe who profeſſed themſelves the champions of the conſtitution. But it will perhaps be difficult to produce a ſingle ſeſſion of parliament ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, in which the members who compoſed the minority in both Houſes, gave more unequivocal proofs of their integrity and wiſdom, than in the preſent. The conduct of the Earl of Chatham in the Houſe of Lords on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, ſerves as one proof in ſupport of this aſſertion. "The jaundiced eye of party," is little qualified to diſcern truth. But whilſt an hiſtorian ought to ſhun the contagion of faction, he is no leſs bound to point out inſtances of true patriotiſm and ſuperior penetration, whether they are to be found in the meaſures of the cabinet, or in the propoſitions which originate in the legiſlative body. To adopt the language of a living writer of deſerved celebrity *, "our ſole object is to be uſeful and to be true. Far be from us that ſpirit of party which blinds and degrades thoſe who are the conductors, and thoſe who aſpire to be the inſtructors of mankind. Our wiſh is for our country, our homage is to juſtice. We honour virtue, in whatever place, in whatever form, ſhe is ſeen: the diſtinctions of

* l'Abbé Raynal.

condition

condition and of nation cannot eſtrange us from her"

When the addreſs had been moved for by Earl Percy, in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Chatham roſe and declared, that he would not join in congratulation on misfortune and diſgrace. He ſaid, it was a perilous and tremendous moment, and not a time for adulation. It was neceſſary to diſpel the deluſion and darkneſs which enveloped the throne, and to diſplay, in its full danger and native colours, the ruin that was brought to our doors. The meaſures which had been purſued, he ſaid, had reduced this late flouriſhing empire to ruin and contempt. Not only the power and ſtrength of this country was waſting away and expiring, but her well-earned glories, her true honour and ſubſtantial dignity were ſacrificed. France, my Lords, continued he, has inſulted you: ſhe has encouraged and ſuſtained America; and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to ſpurn at the officious inſult of French interference. The miniſters and ambaſſadors of thoſe who are called rebels and enemies, are in Paris: in Paris they tranſact the reciprocal intereſt of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying inſult? Can even our miniſters ſuſtain a more humiliating diſgrace? Do they dare to reſent it? Do they preſume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the ſtate, by requiring the diſmiſſal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people whom they affected to call contemptible rebels, but whoſe growing power has at laſt obtained the name of enemies: the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and againſt whom they now command our implicit ſupport in every meaſure of deſperate hoſtility; this people, deſpiſed

as

as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted againſt us, ſupplied with every military ſtore, their intereſts conſulted, and their ambaſſadors entertained by our inveterate enemy! and our miniſters dare not interpoſe with dignity and effect. Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant ſpirit of England, who but yeſterday gave law to the houſe of Bourbon?

His Lordſhip then turned his view towards America, and declared the utter impoſſibility of conquering that country. He ſhewed, that during three campaigns we had done nothing, and ſuffered much; beſides, perhaps the total loſs of the northern force *. You may ſwell every expence and every effort ſtill more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every aſſiſtance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince, that ſells his ſubjects to the ſhambles of a foreign potentate; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent; doubly ſo, from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates to an incurable reſentment, the minds of your enemies, by over-running them with the mercenary ſons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their poſſeſſions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. He added, your own army is infected with the contagion of theſe illiberal allies: the ſpirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them: your diſcipline is deeply wounded. Whilſt this is notoriouſly your ſinking ſituation, America grows and flouriſhes: while your ſtrength and diſcipline is lowered, theirs riſes and improves.

His Lordſhip execrated with great vehemence the meaſures of delegating to the mercileſs Indian, the

* The news of General Burgoyne's ſurrender arrived a fortnight after; this prediction, therefore, ſhews the intelligence which this great man derived from his own ſagacious mind.

defence

defence of diſputed rights, and to wage the horrors of barbarous war againſt our brethren *. Our army, familiarized to the horrid ſcenes of ſavage cruelty, could no longer boaſt of the noble and generous principles which dignify a ſoldier.

No man, he ſaid, wiſhed more for the due dependence of America on this country than himſelf: to preſerve it, and not to confirm that ſtate of independence into which the conduct of government hitherto had driven them, was the object which parliament ought to unite in attaining. America derived aſſiſtance and protection from us, and we reaped from her the moſt important advantages. She was indeed the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our ſtrength, the nurſery and baſis of our naval power. It is our duty, therefore, if we wiſh to ſave our country, ſeriouſly to endeavour the recovery of theſe beneficial ſubjects: and in this perilous criſis, per-

* It is pleaſing to record inſtances of genuine goodneſs of heart and diſintereſted philanthropy, which leads us to inſert here the conduct of Governor Pownal in the Houſe of Commons (February 6, 1778), when the ſubject of the Indian war was under diſcuſſion. That benevolent man propoſed, as a means of putting a ſtop to the horrid cruelties of the American ſavages, that the two countries ſhould mutually, in the ſpirit of a good faith, break off all alliance with theſe blood-hounds of war, engage to treat them as enemies whenever they ſhould commit an act of hoſtility againſt any white perſon, whether European or American, whereby all the dreadful ſcenes of indiſcriminate murder would be prevented. If government, he ſaid, would propoſe to Congreſs, the terms of ſuch an agreement, he would anſwer for it that the Congreſs would embrace them; and execute them with good faith. Such a diſpoſition, and ſuch an overture, he ſaid, might be productive of the happieſt conſequences; it might lead to the mutual performance of good offices, and lay the foundation of a more extenſive treaty, which, by prudent management, might be brought to terminate in peace; and he offered to go himſelf, if government would adopt the meaſure, and parliament ratify it, without pay, or the hope of any reward, and make the propoſal to Congreſs, and would anſwer with his life for the ſucceſs that would attend it.

haps

haps the preſent moment may be the only one in which we can hope for ſucceſs *, for in their negotiations with France, they have, or think they have, reaſon to complain: though it be notorious, that they have received from that power important ſupplies and aſſiſtance of various kinds; yet it is certain, they expect it in a more deciſive and immediate degree. America is in an ill humour with France on ſome points that have not entirely anſwered her expectations, let us wiſely take advantage of every poſſible moment of reconciliation. America and France cannot be congenial. There is ſomething deciſive and confirmed in the honeſt American, that will not aſſimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen. The natural diſpoſition of America ſtill leans towards England, and the old habits of connection and mutual intereſt that united both countries. This was the eſtabliſhed ſentiment of all the continent, and ſtill, my Lords, in the great and principal part, the ſound part of America, this wiſe and affectionate diſpoſition prevails.

The deſigns of foreign powers, he ſaid, were to be judged of rather by their actions, and the nature of things, than by intereſted aſſertions. The uniform aſſiſtance rendered to America by France, ſhewed the diſpoſition of that kingdom. The moſt important intereſts of France, in aggrandizing and enriching herſelf with what ſhe moſt wants, ſupplies of every naval ſtore from America, muſt inſpire her with ſentiments not pacific towards England. In this complicated criſis of danger, weakneſs at home, and

* This warning voice was heard in vain; and in leſs than two months after, a commercial treaty was ſigned at Paris; upon which event the Miniſter eagerly adopted the ſalutary plan of conduct here adviſed; but it was then too late; the Americans ſaw that the overture was dictated by fear, and that it tended only to allure them to break their faith with France.

calamity

calamity abroad, terrified and inſulted by the neighbouring powers; unable to act in America, or acting only to be deſtroyed, he aſked, where was the man with the forehead to promiſe or hope for ſucceſs in ſuch a ſituation? You cannot conciliate America by your preſent meaſures; you cannot ſubdue her by your preſent, or by any meaſures.—What then can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain, but you can addreſs; you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that ſhould produce them.

His lordſhip then propoſed an amendment to the addreſs to his Majeſty, which recommended an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the commencement of a treaty to reſtore peace and liberty to America, ſtrength and happineſs to England, ſecurity and permanent proſperity to both countries. The amendment was rejected by 97 to 28.

When the nation had ſomewhat recovered from the conſternation into which it was thrown, by the arrival of the diſpatches which related the ſurrender of general Burgoyne and his army, ſtrenuous endeavours were uſed to ſet on foot ſubſcriptions for the purpoſe of raiſing men. The towns of Liverpool and Mancheſter raiſed each a regiment; the cities of Edinburgh and Glaſgow furniſhed the like ſupply: ſeveral independent companies were raiſed in Wales. The livery of London was convened for the purpoſe of raiſing and maintaining a body of 5000 men, but the meaſure could not be carried. A private ſubſcription was then ſet on foot at the London Tavern, by which about 20,000*l.* were collected. At Briſtol, the corporation could not be brought to adopt the plan, but many individuals gave a public teſtimony of their zeal, by affixing their names to large ſums of money, profeſſedly for the purpoſe of raiſing men for his Majeſty's ſervice. The number of men obtained

tained in conſequence of theſe corporate and private ſubſcriptions were ſaid to amount to 15,000.

When the parliament aſſembled after the Eaſter receſs, this mode of raiſing troops without the concurrence or knowledge of the legiſlature, was objected to as highly unconſtitutional, and dangerous to the liberties of this country; it being the ſole and unalterable right of parliament to grant money and men for the ſervice of the ſtate. The plan on which theſe benevolences were conducted, was equally cenſured, becauſe it was calculated to ſerve a few men of influence, who were complimented with the privilege of naming the officers, the purchaſe money of whoſe commiſſions, it was ſaid, would greatly exceed the whole expence of raiſing the men. The full amount of the gratuities was calculated at 80,000*l.* and the nation incurred an expence of not leſs than 480,000*l.* by the full and half pay of the officers, with the pay and cloathing of the men. It was likewiſe aſſerted, that the only œconomical plan would have been to offer bounties to recruits entering to ſerve in the old regiments, which plan had been adopted by the city of London in the laſt war, and was found to render eſſential ſervice to the army at a cheap rate.

Whilſt thoſe who were ſtrenuous for purſuing, at all events the American war, had now an opportunity of contributing their benevolences to it, people of a contrary ſentiment, found another channel through which their bounty flowed. The American priſoners, at that time confined in England, ſuffered many hardſhips, which the ſubſiſtence allowed them by government, if faithfully dealt out to them, could not be ſuppoſed to remove, and which were increaſed, in many inſtances, by the inhumanity and cruelty of their keepers. To relieve theſe unhappy men, a ſubſcription was opened, by which they were ſup-

plied

plied with cloaths, firing, bedding, and other neceſſaries, during the winter.

On the 30th of January, 1778, a treaty of commerce was ſigned by the American Plenipotentaries, and the Count de Vergennes, the French miniſter for foreign affairs; and the week after, a treaty of alliance was executed. The Earl of Shelburne, on the 5th of December, had put the queſtion to the miniſtry, in the Houſe of Lords, whether ſuch a tranſaction had not taken place? which they then diſclaimed any knowledge of, but on the 17th of February, Lord North brought in two bills tending to a reconciliation with America. The firſt was expreſsly deſigned to remove all doubts and apprehenſions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, in any of the Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations of North-America and the Weſt-Indies, and it alſo repealed the act of parliament which impoſed the duty on tea. The other bill enabled his Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders ſubſiſting in certain of the Colonies of North-America. Theſe Commiſſioners were endowed with very extenſive powers: they were authorized to treat with the Congreſs by name, as if it were a legal body, and ſo far to give it authenticity, as to ſuppoſe its acts and conceſſions binding upon America. They were empowered to treat with any of the Provincial Aſſemblies upon their new conſtitution, and with any individuals in their civil capacities or military commands: with General Waſhington, or any other officer. The Commiſſioners had a power to order a ſuſpenſion of arms; to ſuſpend the operation of all laws; and to grant all ſorts of pardons, immunities and rewards; to reſtore all the Colonies, or any of them, to the form of their ancient con-

 ſtitution,

ſtitution, as it ſtood before the troubles; and in any of thoſe where the King nominated the Governors, Council, Judges, or other magiſtrates, to nominate ſuch at their diſcretion, until his Majeſty's further pleaſure could be known.

It had been objected to the former Commiſſioners, that their powers were deficient: this act therefore declared, that ſhould the Americans claim their independence at the outſet of the treaty, they ſhould not be required to renounce it, until the treaty had received its final ratification by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. A reaſonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire, when re-united, was to be negotiated for, but ſuch contribution was not to be inſiſted upon as a *ſine qua non* of the treaty.

The conceſſions which the Britiſh Parliament hereby made to America, were much more ample than thoſe recommended by the Earl of Chatham and Mr. Burke, three years before, but which were then unhappily diſapproved. It was the opinion of ſeveral members, that a repeal of all the obnoxious acts ſhould be a preliminary to any treaty, inſtead of being held out to them in future. The minority, in general, ſupported the bills, though ſome of them declared, that, in their opinion, the offer would arrive too late. Both the bills paſſed the Houſe of Commons on the 2d of March, were carried through the Houſe of Lords without a diviſion, and were paſſed the 9th of the ſame month.

On the 17th of March, a meſſage from his Majeſty was preſented to both Houſes of Parliament, relative to a declaration delivered to Lord Weymouth by M. de Noailles, the French Ambaſſador, ſignifying, in form, the treaty of friendſhip and commerce which had been entered into with the States

States of America. It deſcribed thoſe States as being in full poſſeſſion of independence, and declared that the contracting parties had paid great attention not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation, and the United States had reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the ſame footing of equity and reciprocity. It expreſſed a deſire that the good harmony ſubſiſting between Great Britain and the court of France, might not be altered by ſuch a ſtep, and an expectation that the commerce between France and America would not be interrupted, and ſignified that at all events the French King was determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his ſubjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag.

In conſequence of this declaration, his Majeſty acquainted his Parliament, that he had recalled his Ambaſſador from the court of France, and ſhould depend upon Parliament for ſupport, which was promiſed in the ſtrongeſt terms of loyalty and affection. A declaration of war againſt France would no doubt have immediately followed the King's meſſage, if an opinion had not prevailed, that America was at liberty to make peace, without conſulting her ally, unleſs England declared war.

The Hiſtory of Europe might perhaps be conſulted in vain, to find a more aſtoniſhing inſtance of blindneſs and infatuation than that ſhewed by the Britiſh miniſtry during the progreſs of this treaty. That ſuch an alliance was negotiating at Verſailles, had been confidently declared in both Houſes of Parliament, from the very commencement of the ſeſſion *, and a variety of open and apparent cir-

 cumſtances,

* It is aſſerted by Silas Deane, an American Deputy, who ſigned the commercial alliance on the part of the States, that Arthur

cumſtances, rendered the information highly probable. The intelligence communicated to government by our Ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles, not having been laid before Parliament, cannot be fully known. Indeed, inſtances are not wanting, of the moſt important meaſures having been concerted, under the very eye of an Ambaſſador, whoſe country was deeply intereſted in the conſequences, without his being at all apprized of the deſigns. Walſingham, a man of diſtinguiſhed penetration, was in perfect ignorance of the intended maſſacre at Paris, until the night when that bloody tragedy was acted; and the Marquis of Albyville, the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, gave no certain intelligence of the deſtination of the armament which was preparing in Holland to tranſport the Prince of Orange to England, until King James had been apprized of it from various quarters.

Indeciſion and procraſtination had too long marked the conduct of adminiſtration, inſomuch that M. de Noailles, the French Ambaſſador, on his departure from London, deſcribed the Britiſh councils as ſo totally undetermined and indeciſive in every matter, whether of public or private concern, that he never could get a poſitive anſwer from the miniſters, upon any buſineſs, whether of ſmall or of the higheſt importance. How different were the ſentiments of M. de Buſſy, when he returned home from his fruitleſs negotiation eighteen years before!

Arthur Lee, one of his colleagues, immediately on ſignifying the inſtrument, that very night, tranſmitted the following mercantile epiſtle to the Earl of S———n. "This day, the new partnerſhip was ſigned and ſealed, and the new Houſe will begin to proceed to buſineſs immediately. If the old Houſe means to have any thing to do farther, and means honeſtly, it muſt make its propoſals immediately."

But

But the helm of ſtate was then under the guidance of another pilot *.

Such being the fatal propenſities which predominated, the navy of England was now found to be in no condition to revenge the inſult offered by France; whilſt a fleet conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, fourteen ſtore-ſhips, with 6000 troops, under the command of the count d'Eſtaing, ſailed from Toulon, immediately, upon the French court being informed of the reception, which its declaration had met with at St. James's †. It is warrantable to take counſel even from an enemy; the conduct of England towards France, in the year 1755, was now adopted by her antagoniſt; meaſures were taken to ſtrike a deciſive ſtroke while the two kingdoms remained at peace. It could not be doubted that this force was deſtined for America, but much time was loſt before a fleet could be got ready to make head againſt it. The arſenals at Portſmouth could not ſupply the requiſite ſtores of rigging, and the want of ſeamen impeded every operation. At length Admiral Byron, with twelve ſail of the line, put to ſea ‡: but before we follow theſe hoſtile fleets, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of the tranſactions in Parliament.

On the 2d of April, Earl Nugent moved, that a committee of the whole Houſe ſhould be appointed to conſider of the trade of Ireland, which had ſeverely ſuffered by the war with America, a ſtop having been thereby put, in a great meaſure, to the exportation of manufactures from thence, hence a large body of the people were deprived of their ſtat-

* Charles the Second complained to a Dutch Ambaſſador, that the States paid leſs regard to him than they had done to Cromwell; to which the Dutchman, with phlegmatic frankneſs, replied, "Ah, Sir, Oliver was quite another ſort of a man."

† April 13, 1778. ‡ May 20.

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ed employments, and rendered deſtitute of the means of ſubſiſting. The decreaſe of trade was ſtill more ſeverely felt, in conſequence of very heavy additions which had been recently made to the civil eſtabliſhment, by the increaſe of penſions, and other burdenſome appointments. The relief ſolicited was, to take off ſome of the many reſtrictions, which cramped both the export and import trade of that kingdom. Such an innovation alarmed the merchants of Briſtol and Liverpool no leſs than the manufacturers in Lancaſhire and the county of Nottingham, the members for which places ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the admiſſion of Ireland to a participation of the rights of Britiſh ſubjects. Mr. Burke, who had been choſen as a repreſentative of the city of Briſtol, by the free votes of the citizens, without any expence, on this occaſion, found himſelf in a moſt unpleaſant ſituation. The prejudices entertained by his conſtituents were too violent to be combated, but the juſtice, the expediency, and even the neceſſity of the grant, urged him ſtrongly in its favour; at the ſame time it appeared to him in no reſpect to interfere with the intereſts of Briſtol, or of any other part of this kingdom; he therefore nobly renouncing all private views and expectances, came forward, and with a degree of public ſpirit that would have done him honour in the moſt virtuous times, became the champion of an oppreſſed and ſuffering people. He confuted very ably, the principle laid down, that Ireland could not be indulged in a free trade, without her becoming a rival to Great Britain. The free exportation of ſail cloth and manufactured iron ſhe had long en oyed without any inconvenience being felt in this country; from whence he inferred that the other matters of apprehenſion would be found equally groundleſs. A few years before, an act had been paſſed, allowing a free importation of

woollen

woollen yarn from Ireland; the manufacturers in England oppoſed the bill, but they were not able to throw it out, and experience has ſince led them to acknowledge its beneficial tendency. A participation of manufacture, he ſaid, could not poſſibly be detrimental to this country, there was certainly room enough in the world for the trade of two ſuch iſlands as theſe. He obſerved, that although the internal wealth and the external advantages of trade and commerce, are forty times greater in England than in Ireland, yet the latter is taxed in proportion to one fourth of England, which ſhould incline this country to promote the means of her acquiring wealth. He lamented that it could happen in any one inſtance, that his conſcience ſhould direct him to take a part contrary to the opinion of his conſtituents. It had been his invariable aim to protect their rights and intereſts, and to act at all times as became the ſenator and repreſentative of the people. In this inſtance he had dared to act contrary to the wiſhes, though he was ſenſible not to the intereſts, of his conſtituents; and if from his conduct in this buſineſs, he ſhould be deprived of his ſeat in that houſe, as he apprehended he might, he had the ſatisfaction of being fully aſſured, that he ſhould ſuffer in the very cauſe of thoſe who had inflicted the puniſhment. He ſhould not blame his conſtituents if they did reject him; the event would afford a very uſeful example: on the one hand, of a ſenator inflexibly adhering to his opinion againſt intereſt and againſt popularity: and on the other, of conſtituents exerciſing their undoubted right of rejection; not on corrupt motives, but from their perſuaſion, that he whom they had choſen, had acted againſt the judgment and intereſt of thoſe he repreſented *.

Notwithſtanding

* Theſe apprehenſions were verified at the general election in 1780, when Mr. Burke loſt his election for Briſtol: previous to which,

Notwithſtanding the Houſe ſeemed well diſpoſed to adopt the bill, yet it was not carried through, and from ſome events which afterwards turned up, it does not appear improbable, that the ſecret interpoſition of the miniſter proved fatal to it, although he openly ſupported it.

The ſevere laws which are in force againſt Roman catholics, diſtinguiſh this country from every other Proteſtant ſtate in Europe, whilſt the inoffenſive conduct of that body, for a ſeries of years, had entitled them to ſome relief from government. In the perilous ſituation into which the nation was now brought, when an immediate invaſion from France was threatened, and which we were very ill prepared to reſiſt, a petition from the body of Roman catholics, ſigned by almoſt every gentleman of that perſuaſion, of note or property in England, was preſented to the King, ſtrongly expreſſive of their loyalty and attachment to his perſon and government. Nothing, therefore, could more directly meet the wiſhes of

which, in a ſpeech to the electors, fraught with true dignity and ſtrong argument, he defended his conduct in this buſineſs, as follows: "It was a painful but neceſſary part of my duty, to read what was approaching in Ireland, in the black and bloody characters of the American war. I did not obey your inſtructions: No. I conformed to the inſtructions of truth and nature, and maintained your intereſts againſt your opinions, with a conſtancy that became me. A repreſentative worthy of you, ought to be a perſon of ſtability. I am to look indeed to your opinions; but to ſuch opinions as you and I *muſt* have five years hence. I was not to look to the flaſh of the day. I knew that you choſe me, in my place, along with others, to be a pillar of the ſtate, and not a weathercock on the top of the edifice, exalted for my levity and verſatility, and of no uſe but to indicate the ſhiftings of every faſhionable gale. Would to God the value of my ſentiments on Ireland and America, had been at this day a ſubject of doubt and diſcuſſion! No matter what my ſufferings had been, ſo that this kingdom had kept the authority I wiſhed it to maintain, by a grave foreſight, and by an equitable temperance in the uſe of its power."

the

the court, than to ſhew a proper ſenſe of this attachment; but the dread of incurring popular reſentment, would, moſt probably, have prevented the ſmalleſt exertion in their behalf. It muſt be conſidered as a piece of ſubtile policy, for government to effect ſo deſirable an object by means of the members who compoſed the oppoſition; a ſet of men whom venal pens and tongues had branded with the moſt opprobrious epithets, becauſe they held opinions on great political points, eſſential to the well being of the ſtate, which were repugnant to the miniſterial creed. It appears, however, from their conduct in this inſtance, that their zeal to ſerve the cauſe of humanity, rendered them indifferent to the ſuggeſtions of ſelf-intereſt, or to the clamours of men under the influence of an intolerant ſpirit: it even ſubjected them to the imputation of being made the dupes of crafty ſtateſmen.

On the 14th of May, 1778, Sir George Savile * brought a bill into the Houſe of Commons, for the repeal

* The following character of this Baronet deſerves a place here.—He is a true genius; with an underſtanding vigorous, acute, refined; diſtinguiſhing even to exceſs; and illuminated with a moſt unbounded, peculiar, and original caſt of imagination. With theſe he poſſeſſes many external and inſtrumental advantages; and he makes uſe of them all. His fortune is among the largeſt; a fortune which, wholly unincumbered as it is, with one ſingle charge from luxury, vanity, or exceſs, ſinks under the benevolence of its diſpenſer. This private benevolence, expanding itſelf into patriotiſm, renders his whole being the eſtate of the public, in which he has not reſerved a *peculium* for himſelf of profit, diverſion, or relaxation. During the ſeſſion, the firſt in, and the laſt out of the Houſe of Commons; he paſſes from the ſenate to the camp; and, ſeldom ſeeing the ſeat of his anceſtors, he is always in Parliament to ſerve his country, or in the field to defend it. But in all well-wrought compoſitions, ſome particulars ſtand out more eminently than the reſt; and the things which will carry his name to poſterity, are his two bills, I mean that for a limitation of the claims of the crown upon landed eſtates; and this

peal of the act of 10 and 11 W. III. entitled, "An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery;" which to the many pains and penalties before inflicted, by a variety of acts of parliament, added, a prohibition to popish priests officiating in the service of that church; foreigners so offending were made guilty of felony, and natives of this kingdom, of high treason. Popish heirs, educated in foreign countries, incurred a forfeiture of their estates, which descended to the next protestant heir: a son, being a protestant, was empowered to dispossess his father, being a papist, of his estate, and members of that communion were incapacitated from purchasing land †.

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this for the relief of the Roman Catholics. By the former, he has emancipated property; by the latter, he has quieted conscience; and by both, he has taught that grand lesson to government and subject,—no longer to regard each other as adverse parties.

Such was the mover of the act that is complained of by men, who are not quite so good as he is; an act, most assuredly not brought in by him from any partiality to that sect which is the object of it. For, among his faults, may be reckoned a greater degree of prejudice against that people, than becomes so wise a man. He inclines to a sort of disgust, mixed with a considerable degree of asperity to the system; and he has few, or rather no habits with any of its professors. What he did, was on quite other motives. The motives were these, which he declared in his excellent speech on his motion for the bill; namely, his extreme zeal to the Protestant religion, which he thought utterly disgraced by the act of 1699; and his rooted hatred to all kind of oppression, under any colour or upon any pretence whatsoever.

† Bishop Burnet, in the History of his own Times, 8vo, Edition III. 316, 317, informs us, that after the peace of Ryswick (1697), a great swarm of priests came over to England, not only those whom the revolution had frightened away, but many new men, who were said to boast the favour and protection of which they were assured. Some enemies of government gave it out, that the favouring that religion was a secret article of the peace; and so absurd is malice and calumny, that the Jacobites

began

The propriety of granting relief to a body of men who acted conſcientiouſly, appeared ſo clearly to the Houſe, that the bill was paſſed without a diſſenting voice. Whereby the ſubjects of Great Britain, profeſſing the Romiſh faith, were permitted to perform their rites of worſhip, were rendered capable of inheriting or purchaſing real eſtates, upon ſubſcribing an oath of allegiance to the King, and ſolemnly diſclaiming the doctrine of the Pope's authority over this realm, or his power of abſolving the ſubjects of it from their obligations to the government as by law eſtabliſhed*. Doctines which had prevailed in times of ſuperſtitious ignorance, but which had long been forgotten by the Apoſtolical vicar at Rome, and were no longer held ſacred either by the prieſthood or laity. The ſpirit of perſecution is happily extinguiſhed in many of the Roman Catholic countries in Europe, even the moſt rigid kingdoms have relaxed their ſeverity. Such a liberality of ſentiment well

began to ſay, that the King was either of that religion, or at leaſt a favourer of it.—Upon this, ſome propoſed this bill. Thoſe who brought it into the Houſe of Commons, hoped that the court would have oppoſed it; but the court promoted the bill. So when the party ſaw their miſtake, they ſeemed willing to let the bill fall; and when that could not be done, they clogged it with many ſevere, and ſome unreaſonable clauſes, hoping that the Lords would not paſs the act; and it was ſaid, that if the Lords ſhould make the leaſt alteration in it, they in the Houſe of Commons, who had ſet it on, were reſolved to let it lie on their table, when it ſhould be ſent back to them. Many Lords, who ſecretly favoured papiſts, on the Jacobite account, did, for this very reaſon, move for ſeveral alterations; ſome of theſe importing a greater ſeverity; but the zeal againſt popery was ſuch in that Houſe, that the bill paſſed without any amendment, and it had the Royal aſſent.

* It is very remarkable, that the original draft of this act of W. III. as firſt brought into the Houſe, aimed at nothing more than obliging the Roman Catholics to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, and the teſt, the two firſt of which are now enjoined them. See Burnet *ut ſupra*.

deſerves

deſerves imitation. The King of Pruſſia has long ſince led the way, by cauſing a popiſh church to be built at Berlin, the foundation ſtone of which was laid in his own name. In an enlightened age, it is not poſſible, that the tenets of popery ſhould gain ground in a proteſtant country.

A committee of enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, was appointed in each Houſe of Parliament, which ſat early in the month of February, 1778. This was propoſed in the upper Houſe by the Duke of Richmond, and in the lower by his nephew, the Hon. Mr. Fox. Colonel Barré diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly, in his attempts to correct the abuſes which prevailed in the expenditure of the public money, and Sir Philip Jennings Clerke endeavoured to obtain an act, to reſtrain any perſon, being a member of the Houſe of Commons, from being concerned himſelf, or any perſon in truſt for him, in any contract made by the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, or Navy, the Board of Ordnance, or by any other perſon or perſons, for the public ſervice, unleſs the ſaid contract ſhall be made at a public bidding. Mr. Alderman Harley was the principal ſpeaker againſt the bill, which however was ſupported by a great number of independent members, and was at length loſt by only two votes *.

The enquiries into the ſtate of the nation were purſued for upwards of two months. The vaſt ſums voted for the ſervice of the navy, during the laſt eight years, and the bad condition in which that national defence was ſuppoſed to be, notwithſtanding ſuch ample proviſion, were urged as proofs of great negligence or peculation in that department, but the miniſterial party had the addreſs to counteract every attempt to bring before the Houſes ſuch evidence as was requiſite to eſtabliſh facts, and thereby to war-

* 115 to 113. May 4, 1778.

rant

rant a reſolution of cenſure. The tranſport-ſervice was become an article of expence beyond all precedent or imagination. At length, an addreſs to his Majeſty was propoſed in the Houſe of Lords, ſtrongly expreſſive of cenſure on the King's miniſters; deſcribing, in emphatical terms, the ſtate to which the nation was reduced, and praying that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to put an end to the ſyſtem which had prevailed in his court and adminiſtration, to the diſgrace and ruin of the kingdom. The minority were much divided in opinion concerning the propriety of immediately acknowledging the independence of America. The addreſs being rejected, a noble Earl propoſed, that thoſe members who ſupported it, ſhould wait upon the King and preſent it, but ſuch a ſpirited proceeding was not adopted.

During a very animated debate in the Houſe of Lords, on the day that the committee for enquiring into the ſtate of the nation cloſed that buſineſs, the Earl of Chatham, whoſe vigorous mind, on ſo momentous an occaſion, endeavoured to ſhake off the preſſure of bodily infirmities, having ſpoken with great vehemence, was ſuddenly ſeized with a fainting-fit, which he ſurvived but a ſhort time. On the 11th of May this truly great man reſigned his breath, in the ſixtieth year of his age.

This country may exult as much in having produced a Pitt, as in giving birth to a Milton or a Newton, his genius, like theirs, being great and original. Nature had given him every bodily and mental qualification of an orator. A graceful figure, a piercing eye, a voice ſtrong and clear, which, through a variety of cadences, was harmonious and inſinuating. He had ſtudied the maſter of Grecian eloquence with the diſcernment of a kindred ſpirit: poſſeſſing a fancy equally playful, he wielded thunder equally

majeſtic.

majeſtic. Whilſt he rivalled antiquity in the powers of his eloquence, among modern orators he was as the eagle among birds. The rapidity of his conceptions ſtruggling with the ſhackles of language, rendered him frequently abrupt and incorrect, but the effuſions of genius always threw a grandeur over the whole, like the creative pencil of a Salvator Roſa.

Theſe precious gifts were not deſtined by Providence to be merely admired; they were employed to recover a nation ſinking rapidly into effeminacy, to its native ſpirit and vigour. Born to act as well as to harangue, every department of government, both civil and military, felt his renovating influence. His diſcernment pointed out men, whilſt his wiſdom planned meaſures which his vigilance effected. When he withdrew from power, the inſtance which he gave of incorruptible integrity, conſummated his character: he then delivered into the treaſury a very large ſum of money, of which he was exempted from rendering any account, having officially received it for the ſecret ſervice of the ſtate, but to which purpoſe it had not been found neceſſary to apply it.

His greatneſs was not derived from noble birth, or the gifts of fortune. He ruled over the empire of the mind, and monarchs felt the inferiority of external to intellectual power. They either reluctantly availed themſelves of his councils, or paid the forfeit for their contumacy in degradation and ruin. In himſelf he was equally dignified, whether he awed the houſe of Bourbon, or ſuffuſed a pallidneſs and trepidation over the miniſter who ſpurned at his warnings *. It was only by the honours derived

* Such were the effects of his eloquence upon the late Earl of Suffolk.

from

from kings that he could be degraded. What could not his elevated ſoul effect? He cauſed even Engliſhmen to renounce thoſe political diſtinctions which had divided and weakened the nation for more than a century! Diſdaining to govern by parties, he abſorbed them all into his own vortex. Alike regardleſs of the approbation or cenſure of buſy and obſcure writers, (the objects of complacence or dread to court-made ſtateſmen) he kept on his courſe, and made his appeal to the underſtanding and to the heart. To ſum up the whole of his character: he was a miniſter formed for ſuperintending the affairs of a mighty empire, and to preſerve in a free ſtate, the due equipoiſe between the powers of the crown, and the liberties of people.—*Nil orturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.*

Such are the viciſſitudes in the motives to human action, that the very member, who, when Mr. Pitt was miniſter, firſt diſplayed his oratorical powers againſt the meaſures then purſuing, now pronounced a panegyric on the late Earl of Chatham, and moved that his remains ſhould be interred at the public expence. Mr. Rigby endeavoured to quaſh this motion, by ſuggeſting, that it would be a more laſting teſtimony of public gratitude to vote a monument to his memory, which Mr. Dunning propoſed as an amendment to the original motion, and they were both carried without a diſſenting voice *. The Earl of Shelburne moved in the Houſe of Lords, that the Houſe ſhould attend the funeral of the late Earl, but it was loſt by a caſting vote. In conſequence of an addreſs to his Majeſty from the Houſe of Commons, an annuity of 4000l. per annum was afterwards ſettled in perpetuity on thoſe heirs of the late Earl of

* The Athenians, on the death of Demoſthenes, expreſſed their veneration for his memory in a manner very ſimilar.—Each of theſe renowned orators died in the ſixtieth year of his age.

Chatham to whom that earldom might deſcend; and 20,000l. were granted towards diſcharging the debts of the deceaſed nobleman. The Commons were unanimous in ſhewing theſe inſtances of reſpect, but in the Houſe of Lords they occaſioned a proteſt to be ſigned by four peers*.

The ſupplies for the year 1778 amounted to 14,345,497l. of which the navy claimed 5,001,895l. †

Beſides

* The Duke of Chandos, the Lord Chancellor (Bathurſt), the Archbiſhop of York (Markham), and Lord Paget.

† N A V Y.

60,000 ſeamen, including 11,829 marines	3,120,000	
Ordinary of the Navy - -	389,200	
Building and repairing ſhips -	488,695	
Towards the diſcharge of the Navy debt	1,000,000	
Greenwich Hoſpital - -	4,000	
		5,001,895

A R M Y.

20,057 effective men for guards, garriſons, &c. in Great Britain; ſtaff officers; garriſons in the Plantations, Africa, Minorca, Gibraltar; proviſions for forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Gibraltar, the Ceded Iſlands, and Africa; penſions to widows; out-penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital (105,431l.) reduced officers of land forces and marines (90,940l.); difference of pay between Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment - - -	1,856,800	
Augmentation of forces from their ſeveral commencements, to Dec. 24, 1778. -	385,847	
Five Hanoverian battalions, ſerving in Minorca and Gibraltar - - -	56,075	
Foreign troops ſerving in America, proviſions and artillery - - -	642,228	
		2,940,950

Beſides the land-tax and duty upon malt, to provide for this ſum, ſix millions were raiſed by annuities, at three per cent. per annum, with the further annuity of two pounds ten ſhillings per cent. per annum, for the term of thirty years, and then to ceaſe; or it might be made determinable upon a life; and 480,000l. by a lottery; two millions by Exchequer bills. The ſinking fund to April 5, 1778, produced 703,700l. the

Extraordinaries of the army from Jan. 31, 1777, to Feb. 2, 1778 - -		1,469,923
Ordnance for 1777 not provided for -	300,483	683,299
for 1778 - - - -	382,816	
Militia, including three regiments of fencible men to be raiſed in North Britain -		485,789

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

Calling in and recoining the deficient gold coin - - -	105,227	
To four perſons, for compiling a general Index to the Journals of the Houſe of Commons - - -	12,900	
New roads and bridges in Scotland -	6,998	
Deficiency of fund for 1758 - -	43,621	
Civil liſt eſtabliſhments in America, &c. -	20,617	
Ditto at Senegambia - - -	5,550	
Forts on the coaſt of Africa - -	13,000	
General ſurveys in North America -	2,372	
Sums iſſued in purſuance of addreſſes -	19,100	
For the relief of Americans ſuffering on account of their attachment to his Majeſty's government - - -	56,680	
Confining, maintaining, and cloathing convicts on the River Thames -	9,075	
		295,140
Exchequer Bills diſcharged - - - -		2,500,000
Prizes in lottery, 1777, paid off - -		480,000
Deficiencies of grants for 1777 -	38,493	
Ditto land-tax for 1777 - -	252,000	
Malt ditto - - - -	200,000	
		490,493

whole produce of the Lottery was diſtributed into prizes; four tickets for every 500l. ſtock ſubſcribed, upon paying 10l. for each ticket; the growing produce of the ſinking fund was applied to the amount of 2,296,209l. Various duties and ſavings produced 148,566l. The annual intereſt upon the funded debt, with the annuity, amounted to 330,000l. for the payment of which, a tax of ſix-pence in the pound was laid on all houſes from five pounds to fifty pounds a year rent, and one ſhilling in the pound on all above 50l. An additional duty of eight guineas per ton was laid on all French wines, and four guineas per ton on all other wines imported. Theſe two taxes were calculated to produce 336,558l.

As the French declaration was delivered but a few days after the contract for the loan had been made, the money-lenders became great loſers by the ſudden fall of ſtocks, on account of the conſequent rupture with France. But notwithſtanding no money had then been paid as a depoſit, yet ſuch was the honour of the contractors, that the payments were regularly made. The miniſter endeavoured to procure them an indemnification from Parliament, but without effect. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the third of June.

CHAP. IV.

Condition of France at the Commencement of Hoſtilities—Engagement between the Britiſh and French Fleets off Uſhant—Valuable Captures made by the Engliſh—Arrival of the Commiſſioners at Philadelphia—Evacuation of that City, and March of the combined Army to New York—French Fleet under Count d'Eſtaing, appears off Staten Iſland—Operations of the Army at New-

New-York—Attempt upon Rhode Iſland—Engagement between the two Fleets prevented by a Storm—D'Eſtaing takes refuge in Boſton Harbour—Diſcontents of the Americans—St. Pierre and Miquelon taken by the Engliſh, and the Iſland of Dominica by the French—Diſperſion of the Engliſh Fleet under Admiral Byron—Dreadful Inſtances of Cruelty in the Back Settlements——Trials of the Admirals Keppel and Palliſer—Pondicherry taken—Meeting of Parliament—State of Ireland—Enquiry into the Conduct of the American War—Spaniſh Manifeſto laid before Parliament—The Miniſter unable to raiſe the full Amount of the Supplies—Concluſion of the Seſſion—Operations in America—General Prevoſt's attempt upon Charleſtown—Detachments from Sir Henry Clinton's Army—The Iſland of St. Lucia captured—Deſtruction of the American's ſhipping at Penobſcot—The French reduce the Iſland of St. Vincent, and afterwards Granada—Engagement between Byron and d'Eſtaing—The Town of Savannah defended againſt the French and Americans—Gibraltar inveſted by the Spaniards—Succeſſes of the French on the Coaſt of Africa—England threatened with an Invaſion from France—Requiſitions made to the States of Holland—The combined Fleets of France and Spain enter the Britiſh Channel—Internal State of England—Meeting of Parliament—State of Affairs in Ireland—Events in Scotland—Inſtances of Public Spirit—Acts paſſed in Favour of Ireland—General Diſcontents in Conſequence of the national Expences—County Meetings formed, and Petitions preſented—Mr. Burke's Plan for the better ſecuring of the Independence of Parliaments, and the œconomical Reformation in the Civil and other Eſtabliſhments—Plan for a Committee of Accounts propoſed by Colonel Barré—Petitions from Jamaica—Lord North's Bill for appointing Commiſſioners of Accounts—Mr. Dunning's Propoſitions—A numerous Society formed under the Title of "The

Proteſtant Aſſociation"—Petition preſented to the Houſe of Commons, by Lord George Gordon, for the Repeal of the Act which granted relief to Roman Catholics—Riots and Devaſtations in London—Conduct of Parliament—Supplies, and Ways and Means for the Year 1780—*Parliament riſes—Signal Victory obtained by Sir George Rodney over the Spaniſh Fleet—Gibraltar relieved—Succeſs of Admiral Digby—Spirited Attempt to reſtrain the Dutch carrying-Trade—Expedition from Jamaica to the Spaniſh Main—Captures from the French in the Weſt-Indies—Naval Engagements—Hurricanes—Valuable Captures from the Spaniards—Charleſtown in South Carolina reduced by Sir Henry Clinton—Splendid Victory obtained by Earl Cornwallis at Camden—Diſplay of Bravery and Conduct in various Actions at Sea.*

THE kingdom of France, ever ſince the acceſſion of Louis XVI. had been recovering itſelf from the confuſion and diſtreſſes into which it had been plunged by the miſrule of his predeceſſor. Profuſion and neglect no longer waſted the public revenue. As the young monarch was intent on reſtoring the luſtre of that potent kingdom, he ſought out ſuch men for public employments as were moſt likely to further ſuch patriotic views. It is a remark of the Duke de Sully, that "although good Princes may be wanting to good miniſters, yet good miniſters will never be wanting to a Prince who has diſcernment enough to find them, who chooſes them for their ſuperior parts, experience, and integrity, and who reſolves to ſupport them againſt all oppoſition raiſed by the cabals of the court, or the factions of the ſtate." Necker, who ſucceeded Turgot, carried the reformation farther than his predeceſſor, regardleſs of the clamour which was raiſed by intereſted men: "a man of an elevated ſoul," ſaid he, "will not

not deſcend to enter the liſts with obſcure writers." Such were the effects produced from theſe labours, that the ordinary revenues of the kingdom were ſpeedily brought to exceed the ordinary expences by 10,200,000 livres *, beſides three quarters of a million ſterling, employed in reimburſements. His ſuperior abilities, and the manner in which they were exerciſed, placed him on a level with the Sullys and Colberts, to whom France has been ſo much indebted. In oppoſition, however, to the views of the miniſter, the King reſolved no longer to remain a quiet ſpectator of the impending fate of America. It was in vain the miniſter repreſented, that, "neither conqueſts nor alliances could prove ſo valuable, as what the King might one day draw from his own power, the improvements in huſbandry and in the national credit, by a prudent adminiſtration and the encouragement of induſtry, thoſe being the only things wanting to ſtrengthen a kingdom, where there are twenty four millions of inhabitants and 2000 millions of ſpecie. †" To wreſt from Great Britain her envied ſuperiority on the ocean, was the flattering object which ſeduced the French King from his pacific purſuits, and the naval force which he had collected, encouraged that fond expectation.

When the Britiſh miniſtry were compelled to make head againſt this new enemy, it became neceſſary to ſingle out ſome naval commander of tried valour and long experience, to whom they could entruſt the fleet which was to be oppoſed to that of France in the European ſeas. Theſe qualities, which had gained him the warm eſteem of all ranks in the navy, pointed out Admiral Keppel for that important ſer-

* 455,000l. ſterling. See the State of the Finances of France the beginning of the Year 1769, p. 33.

† 90,000,000l. ſterling.

vice.

vice. He was one of the oldeſt officers in the navy, and had ſeen a greater variety of ſervice than any other man in it. When not more than fourteen years of age, he accompanied Commodore Anſon in his voyage round the world; and in the laſt war had rendered himſelf conſpicuous for his gallantry and ſucceſs in Europe, Africa and America. A noble deſcent, an ample fortune and perſonal merit were united in this commander; but as a ſenator, he had declared his diſlike of the American war, and had arraigned the conduct of the Admiralty-board in not rendering the naval force of the kingdom more powerful and effectual to awe its enemies. The exigence of the times required, however, that miniſters ſhould ſeek the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom they could not call their friends, and the king himſelf therefore proffered him the command. The Admiral declared his readineſs to ſerve his king and country, but diſclaimed all acquaintance with official men, and as he received his command immediately from his Majeſty, he threw himſelf upon his Majeſty's gracious ſupport and protection.

When Keppel arrived at Portſmouth to take upon him the command of the grand fleet, he found that there were only ſix ſail of the line which were in any degree of condition for immediate ſervice, and a great deficiency in ſailors, as well as in all kinds of naval ſtores. His applications to the Admiralty-board cauſed uncommon exertions to be made, and by the beginning of June he put to ſea, with a fleet conſiſting of twenty ſail of the line, and three frigates. He ſoon after fell in with two French frigates, which he captured, although the ſituation of the two nations, with reſpect to each other, was neither that of war nor peace. By the papers found on board theſe prizes, he firſt learnt, that thirty two ſail of the line, and ten frigates,

were

were then lying at anchor in Breſt water, preparing to put to ſea. This ſuperiority of force determined him to return into port for a reinforcement. He might certainly have kept the ſea without any danger of being compelled to fight on ſuch unequal terms, and to ſave the appearance of a retreat is ever to be wiſhed. On the 9th of July the Admiral commanded thirty ſhips of the line, with which he went in ſearch of the French fleet, which had only quitted their harbour the day before, under the command of the Count d'Orvilliers. In the afternoon of the 23d the two fleets came in ſight of each other. The French had the wind, ſo that they might chooſe whether to fight or avoid it. The line of battle was formed by the Britiſh fleet, but no action took place. The next day two ſhips of the French fleet, the one of 80, the other of 64 guns, were ſo ſeparated, that their Admiral was compelled to bear down and engage the Engliſh if he meant to rejoin them: but ſo reluctant was he to riſk the fate of a battle, that he rather choſe to ſuffer that diminution of his force, than regain it upon ſuch conditions. Keppel inferred from this apparent backwardneſs, that the enemy expected a reinforcement, he therefore redoubled his efforts to bring on an engagement; and as ſailing in a regular line of battle would have retarded the progreſs of his fleet, he threw out ſignals for chaſing. The two fleets were employed, the one in retreating, and the other in purſuing until the 27th, when a ſudden ſquall intercepted them from the ſight of each other. The weather, however, very ſoon cleared up, and diſcovered the enemy drawn up in line of battle; and as the French, by a ſudden ſhift of the wind, had the advantage of the weathergage, they bore down on the headmoſt ſhips of the Britiſh fleet, and diſcharged their broadſides. The two fleets ſailing upon different tacks, maintained

tained a running fight within piſtol ſhot of each other, for near two hours, and the action was cloſed between one and two o'clock in the afternoon.

Nineteen years were now almoſt completed ſince the force of the two rival nations had contended on the ocean; and it appeared in the courſe of this day's action, that the French had greatly improved during that time, both in the manner of working their ſhips, and of diſcharging the guns; in conſequence of which, the Britiſh fleet ſuſtained conſiderable damage in this paſſing conflict; the Engliſh behaved with their wonted bravery, and did great execution on the enemy; but ſtill the conteſt remained to be decided by a cloſe and general action, and Keppel afterwards declared, that, "at the time when he wore his ſhip, and laid her head towards the enemy, he thought it would have been a proud day for England." Three hours were employed in repairing the damage which the fleet had ſuſtained, and ſome ſhips in the rear diviſion fell ſo much out of their courſe as to be in danger of being cut off. D'Orvilliers ſaw the opportunity, and threw out a ſignal to the Duke de Chartres, who commanded the French rear, to bear down; but the order not being immediately underſtood, the Britiſh Admiral had time to interpoſe for their relief, which cauſed this action to be the laſt ſervice in which the Duke was concerned at ſea.

Sir Hugh Palliſer, Vice Admiral of the Blue, who commanded the rear diviſion, had formed the line of battle by three o'clock, and in the poſition which the Britiſh fleet then kept, his ſhips compoſed the van; Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, which properly formed the van, being now in the rear. The Commander in Chief, ſolicitous to renew the fight, threw out ſignals for his rear and van

to

to take their proper ſtations. This was immediately performed by Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, but the Rear Admiral of the Blue paid no attention to the ſignal which was flying, and although Captain Windſor, in the Fox frigate, was ſent with expreſs orders for the Vice Admiral to bear down into his Admiral's wake *, yet no effort was made for that purpoſe; in conſequence of which the night came on before the Britiſh fleet was formed.

The French have a peculiar method of repeating ſignals at night by means of rockets and exploſions of gunpowder, theſe were diſcernible until day break, but when light returned, the French fleet was only viſible from the maſt-head. Keppel did not think proper to purſue them; but as ſoon as every ſhip had entirely diſappeared, he directed his courſe homeward, in order to repair his crippled ſhips, and to be as ſoon as poſſible in a condition to meet the enemy again. However juſtifiable the motives for this conduct might be, it furniſhed the enemy with a colourable pretext to boaſt of a victory, and gave the other ſtates of Europe an unfavourable idea of Britiſh proweſs, of which they had entertained ſo exalted a ſentiment, that a drawn battle between two fleets of equal force was conſidered as highly diſgraceful. The reaſons aſſigned by the Commander in Chief for this conduct were, that a ſtrong wind blew directly into the harbour of Breſt, under favour of which the French fleet was able to enter that harbour, before he could poſſibly have come up with them, and the ſhattered condition of many of the ſhips under his command would have expoſed them to imminent hazard from a lee-ſhore. This indeci-

* It was declared upon the trials, by a variety of witneſſes, that this meſſage was delivered at five o'clock, whilſt ſome ſpoke as poſitively to its being received at ſeven o'clock.

five

ſive action was fought in lat. 48°. 38'. Uſhant diſtant, twenty-ſeven leagues eaſt half-ſouth.

When the tranſactions of this day came to be canvaſſed, the Commander in Chief was diſtinguiſhed by the particular notice of thoſe miniſterial agents, whoſe buſineſs it is to hunt down characters in the public prints. They placed him as the mark at which their envenomed ſhafts were aimed. The moderation which he had ſhewn in ſcreening the miſconduct of the officer who commanded his rear, and the favourable manner in which he had ſpoken of that officer's behaviour, in his letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty *, were certainly not to be juſtified upon the principle of ſtrict diſcipline, which is eſſential to the public ſervice. This ſacrifice of his duty he had been tempted to make to the remembrance of a long-ſubſiſting friendſhip, which however had for ſome time been in its wane †. Had Keppel immediately, upon his orders being diſobeyed, put the delinquent under an arreſt, and brought the whole tranſaction before a court-martial, with a rigid but warrantable auſterity, the alarm which ſuch a ſpirited conduct would have ſpread in the navy, and throughout

* Keppel commiſſioned Capt. Faulkner, whom he ſent with his official diſpatches from Plymouth, to acquaint the marine miniſter, "that he (the Admiral) had more to ſay to him than he thought proper to put in his public letter, and if it was his Lordſhip's pleaſure to aſk him any queſtion, he was ready to wait upon him." This meſſage the Captain not only delivered, but repeated, and it was both times received without any apparent attention being paid to it, and no anſwer was made.

† It has been ſaid, that Admiral Keppel named Admiral Pigot for the third in command of the grand fleet, but that appointment was over-ruled. Keppel and Palliſer had been the common friends of Sir Charles Saunders, a man highly meritorious as a naval officer, of whoſe ample fortune, at his death, they each largely partook.

the

the nation, would not have been ſo violent, nor its conſequences ſo fatal as thoſe which have been actually experienced.

Admiral Keppel ſailed again on the 23d of Auguſt, with Sir Robert Harland and Sir Hugh Palliſer ſecond and third in command, and being joined ſome time after by three line of battle ſhips, his force then conſiſted of thirty-one ſail of the line. The French fleet left their harbour five days before, but ſhaping their courſe to the ſouth weſtward, effectually avoided a ſecond action; hereby, however, the trade of France was left defenceleſs, and ſeveral Weſt Indiamen bound to Nantes and Bourdeaux were captured, alſo three Eaſt Indiamen were made prizes to two private ſhips of war and a king's frigate; whilſt our own trade arrived from every quarter of the world ſafe and unannoyed.

When the approach of winter cauſed the grand fleet to return home from its ſecond cruiſe, the Admiral was received by his Sovereign with every mark of ſatisfaction and regard, whilſt the firſt Lord of the Admiralty was in no reſpect backward in his profeſſions of good-will and eſteem. At length, however, the never ceaſing buzz of paragraph writers excited the nation to diſcontent. The people always expect ſome deciſive conſequences when two fleets or two armies engage; and although that expectation is continually diſappointed by the event, yet its impatience is no ways abated. Sir George Pocock, during the laſt war, thrice fought and worſted the French fleet in the Eaſt Indies, without a ſingle ſhip being ſunk or captured on either ſide. In ſhort, no general action at ſea, during the preſent century, when the force on each ſide has been nearly equal, has proved deciſive, or attended with any of thoſe circumſtances which are calculated to elevate and ſurprize.

From

From the events which turned up in Europe during the ſummer of the year 1778, it is now time to paſs over to thoſe in America. The commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty to carry into effect the conciliatory propoſitions offered by parliament, were, the Earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden, Governor Johnſtone, and the commanders of the land forces, and of the fleet in America. The political ſentiments of the firſt commiſſioner were well known by his conduct in the Houſe of Lords, where he had declared his full approbation of coercive meaſures in unqualified terms, nor could any other conduct have been expected from the ſon-in-law of the Earl Gower. Mr. Eden was under Secretary of State to the Earl of Suffolk, and on that account poſſeſſed no prepoſſeſſing qualities when he appeared as a meſſenger of peace in America; but the popularity of Governor Johnſtone was to make ample atonement for the antipathy which operated againſt the two principal agents in this buſineſs. Early in the month of June the commiſſioners arrived at Philadelphia, and immediately forwarded a letter, the two acts of parliament under which they acted, and other neceſſary credentials to Mr. Laurens, the Preſident of the Congreſs. They propoſed, in the name of the King and Parliament of Great Britain an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities both by land and ſea. That the moſt unreſtrained freedom ſhould be given to the American trade: that no military force ſhould be maintained in any part of America, without the conſent of a General Congreſs, or of the Provincial Aſſemblies; they offered to concur in meaſures which might tend to diſcharge the debt contracted by Congreſs, and which might in the mean time, raiſe the credit and value of the paper circulation: that the union thus reſtored ſhould be perpetuated by a reciprocal deputation of agents from the reſpective States, who ſhould have the privilege of a ſeat and voice

voice in the Parliament of Great Britain; or if ſuch agents were ſent from Britain, that they ſhould have a ſeat and voice in the aſſemblies of the different States to which they might be reſpectively deputed. The conditions offered were ſo ample, that they ſeemed to reſerve nothing more to the Mother-country than the ſhadow of authority over her Colonies; to put an end to the declared and avowed independence of America, but to legalize to that country an actual independence *.

Two cauſes operated to prevent theſe propoſals proving ſucceſsful. A month before the Commiſſioners arrived, Mr. Silas Deane had reached York-Town from Paris, with a ratification of the two treaties between the Court of Verſailles and the Thirteen United States of America. By the eighth article of the treaty of defenſive alliance, neither of the two contracting parties were to conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, unleſs the formal conſent of the other was firſt obtained, and they mutually engaged not to lay down their arms until the independence of the united States ſhould have been formally or tacitly acknowledged. However inclined the members of the Congreſs, and the whole body of the people, might have been to renounce their new alliance and return to their old connections and habits, yet ſuch a ſtrong belief was entertained of the inſincerity with which the propoſals from Great Britain were fraught, that little attention was paid to them. They were ſaid to be dictated merely for the purpoſe of ſeducing America from her French alliance; that when her breach of faith ſhould have left her unprotected and defenceleſs, ſhe might experience the full meaſure of

* "We ſent out," ſaid Mr Burke, "a ſolemn embaſſy acroſs the Atlantic ocean, to lay the Crown, the Peerage, the Commons of Great Britain at the feet of the American Congreſs." *Speech at the Guildhall, in Briſtol.*

chaſtiſement

chaſtiſement which the rankling, though concealed, reſentment of Great Britain, ſhould prompt her to inflict. The Congreſs, therefore, replied to theſe overtures for an accommodation, that the acknowledging the independence of thoſe States, or the withdrawing of his Majeſty's fleets and armies from their coaſt and country, could alone pave the way for ſuch a treaty of peace and commerce, as ſhould not be inconſiſtent with other treaties which already ſubſiſted.

It been found that the Congreſs, as a body, were inflexible, and that the defection of any one Colony from the general confederacy was highly improbable, recourſe was therefore had to individuals, and offers of large ſums and the higheſt poſts were made to the leading men in America, to prevail on them to intercede in behalf of Great Britain, now become a ſuppliant to her Colonies. It is probable, that this was the firſt inſtance in which this country had attempted to conciliate the Americans, by ſpeaking to the private intereſts of particular perſons *. General expreſſions

* In a very ſenſible pamphlet, written by Sir William Draper, which was publiſhed at the commencement of the preſent troubles, is the following paſſage. "It ſeems very extraordinary, that we ſhould never think of guiding our affairs in that part of the world (America) with the ſame *prudence* as in this. Benefits and obligations conſtitute the public, as well as miniſterial, ſtability: an aſs loaded with gold has ſometimes effected more than an able General with twenty legions. I am far from thinking the Americans corrupt, but I think all men ſenſible of good offices. If you deſire to reap ſhould you not ſow? Of the numerous employments and ſinecures in America, created chiefly for the purpoſe of obligation and dependence, how few are the portion of its inhabitants? Some indeed act as deputies to the principals here, who live at their eaſe, without the leaſt attention to any part of their duty but the ſalary. The recommendation of a Governor is rarely taken, and when the people find they can have no encouragement or reward for ſupporting government, diſappointment or reſentment ſoon prompt them to ſee through the unſubſtantial power of their rulers, ſet over them ſometimes

ſions of grateful acknowledgments, for any ſervices which might be rendered, were conveyed to Waſhington, Laurens, and others. The offers made to General Reed were more ſpecific, viz. 10,000l. and any office he pleaſed in the Colonies. The General returned for anſwer, "He was not worth purchaſing, but ſuch as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it." In all theſe tranſactions Governor Johnſtone was agent.

Every one who was any way tampered with, diſcovered the tranſaction to Congreſs, who cauſed each circumſtance to be publiſhed and circulated through the Provinces. Although the alliance with France was univerſally diſreliſhed, and the ratification of the treaties by the Provincial Aſſemblies was long delayed, in the northern Provinces for upwards of a twelvemonth, yet the Americans did not ſeek a mitigation of the evil in a return to Great Britain.

This mortifying rejection of a moſt humiliating overture, was immediately followed by a ſtep which proclaimed to all the world, that neither the numerous armies which had been ſent to America, nor the immenſe ſums which had been expended on the war, were adequate to the purpoſe which they were deſigned to effect, and ſerved only to render the kingdom an object of contempt to its enemies, and of pity to its friends. After large ſums had been laviſhly expended in conſtructing works for the ſecurity of the city of Philadelphia, it was found to be an

ſometimes more from compaſſion than true diſcernment, and whoſe diſtreſſes have been made an apology for want of education, judgment, or abilities to govern." *The Thoughts of a Traveller on our American Diſpute, publiſhed in* 1774, *by Ridley.*

Sir William croſſed the Atlantic to make the tour of America; his remarks on the diſpoſition of the people are ſolid and important, he was very capable of imparting uſeful truths to thoſe in power, had they been diſpoſed to have received them.

untenable

untenable poſt, and Mr Eden, who was entruſted with the ſecret reſolve of the Britiſh cabinet, which had been concealed from Governor Johnſtone, at length produced the orders from the American Secretary to Sir H. Clinton, now Commander in Chief, for evacuating Philadelphia, croſſing the Delaware, and marching the army through the Jerſeys to New York. If the Americans had halted between two opinions, concerning embracing or rejecting the propoſals made them by the Commiſſioners, every latent propenſity in favour of reconciliation was extinguiſhed by this dereliction of territory, of friends, and of reputation. From this period the American war became utterly hopeleſs.

The whole army paſſed the Delaware on the 18th of June 1778. The only road by which the baggage and ſtores could proceed to New York was narrow, ſo that the waggons, artillery, and camp equipage, extended twelve miles; notwithſtanding which, the General found means to defend the whole, from all attempts made by Waſhington and his army. A large body of Americans, commanded by General Lee, was driven back, and if the intenſe heat of the day * had not put a ſtop to purſuit, the Royal army would have obtained a very deciſive advantage; but being thus impeded, the action was memorable only from the circumſtance of fifty-nine ſoldiers having expired through exceſſive heat and fatigue, without receiving a wound. The American accounts repreſent the fortune of the day as having been reverſed by the miſconduct of General Lee, and aſſert, that if he had acted with ſpirit, a very capital advantage would have been gained over the royal army. That officer was afterwards tried by a court-martial on ſe-

* June 28.

veral

veral charges, and diſmiſſed the ſervice. The Marquis de la Fayette diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in this action.

The judicious manner in which Sir Henry Clinton conducted this retreat of the confederate army, received great applauſe: it is perhaps his moſt diſtinguiſhed atchievement. His whole force did not reach Sandy Hook until the firſt of July, ſo that a fortnight elapſed from leaving Philadelphia to the arrival of the army at New York. If ſuch were the impediments and dangers in traverſing this country, with an enemy hanging on their rear, it is obvious to infer, that Sir William Howe was perfectly right in not attempting to penetrate by that route, when Waſhington was prepared to diſpute every inch of ground, and the Britiſh general muſt have driven the enemy before him through the whole progreſs; a ſituation much more embaraſſing than merely to repel his attacks.

The abandonment of Philadelphia was rendered neceſſary by the approach of the Count d'Eſtaing's fleet to the American coaſts. Intereſt and ambition will frequently lead men to aſſume the ſemblance of generoſity; but that government, which was then actually exerciſing the moſt unfeeling ſeverity on the brave Corſicans, becauſe their ſtubborn nature could not be brought to yield obedience to a foreign yoke, ſhould have little credit given to it, on the ſcore of motive, in the relief which it now ſent to America. Tempeſts, which had diſperſed and ſhattered Admiral Byron's fleet, had only retarded that of d'Eſtaing, ſo that he arrived in full force at the mouth of the Delaware, the latter end of June, only three days after Lord Howe had ſailed from thence for New York. The Britiſh naval force was ſo inferior to that of the enemy, that the conſequences of his arrival but a few days ſooner might have

been very fatal. The Americans, maſters of Philadelphia, Sir Henry Clinton's army on its march, and only ſix ſixty-four gun ſhips, three fifties, and two forties, to make head againſt eleven ſhips of the line, of which one carried ninety guns, another eighty, ſix ſeventy-four, and three ſixty-four, beſides which, there were a fifty-gun ſhip and three large frigates; neither ſuperior bravery nor ſkill, although exerciſed in their fulleſt extent, ſeemed capable of extricating ſuch a fleet from ſuch a ſituation. The French Admiral, thus diſappointed of meeting the enemy in the ſpot moſt favourable to his deſigns, ſought him in his more defenſible poſt. Lord Howe, who poſſeſſed every qualification of a naval commander in a very eminent degree, made [illegible] of a very ſhort ſpace of time, in protecting his ſhips in the harbour. The ardour, activity, and undaunted firmneſs diſcovered by all ranks on this trying occaſion, preſaged a favourable termination of the conflict.

D'Eſtaing appeared on the 11th of July, and immediately made the neceſſary diſpoſition for an attack, but the danger to which his large ſhips would have been expoſed in paſſing a bar which obſtructs the approach to New York, abated his impetuoſity; he therefore continued ten days before Sandy-Hook without attempting any thing againſt the Britiſh fleet, and then directed his courſe towards Rhode-Iſland, for the reduction of which, a plan had been concerted with Congreſs. General Sullivan, at the head of ten thouſand Americans, being to paſs over from the Continent and attack the town of Newport and the Britiſh lines, whilſt the French fleet aſſailed them on the oppoſite ſide.

Lord Howe, ſoon after the departure of the French fleet, was joined by three ſhips, one of which carried ſeventy-four guns, the other ſixty-four,

four, and the third fifty. He was now ſuperior to the enemy in number of ſhips, but much inferior in weight of metal and actual force. He was nto however deterred by theſe diſadvantages from ſailing out with a deſign to try the fortune of a battle. On the 10th of Auguſt, 1778, the French fleet having quitted its ſtation before Newport, appeared drawn up in order of battle, but the wind being then in their favour, Howe endeavoured to gain that important advantage by ſkilful tackings, not chooſing to riſk the fate of his country againſt ſuch increaſed odds; but in this he was baffled by the counter movements of the enemy. The whole of the next day was ſpent in theſe fruitleſs efforts, ſo painful to a man of ardent bravery, when in the immediate proſpect of encountering the foe. The Admiral, deſpairing of bettering his ſituation, about four o'clock in the evening, threw out a ſignal for the ſhips to cloſe to the centre, and form in line of battle a-head, and in that poſition he waited the approach of the enemy, who was between two and three miles diſtant.

The Britiſh Admiral, in conducting the operations of the fleet under his command, adopted a mode of conduct altogether unknown to former naval commanders, and which indeed none but thoſe of acknowledged bravery could adopt, without incurring imputations on their character: he removed from the Eagle to the Apollo frigate, that he might be better ſituated for directing the ſubſequent operations of the ſquadron. A ſea fight of a very ſingular kind was now about to be entered upon, in which the weight of metal was to be oppoſed to the dextrous working of ſmaller ſhips, more numerous, and poſſeſſing all the advantages of *Britiſh* ſeamanſhip. The brilliancy of Lord Howe's courage had appeared on many trying occaſions; it was generally acknowledged, that in the naval line he had

not a ſuperior : a moſt rare opportunity now preſented itſelf for the diſplay of his profeſſional ſkill. Hitherto, during the American war, the naval Commander in Chief had no opportunity of eminently diſtinguiſhing himſelf; this was the preciſe point of time for doing it; but whilſt the battle was thus put in array, a ſtrong gale of wind aroſe, which in a ſhort time increaſed to a violent tempeſt that continued for near forty-eight hours. This entirely changed the nature of the conflict, and both fleets had to contend with the enraged elements, inſtead of each other. The ſtorm ſoon diſperſed the ſhips of both ſquadrons, and threatened them with deſtruction. The Apollo, with the Admiral on board, ſprung her main-maſt, and loſt her fore-maſt; he therefore went on board the Phœnix as ſoon as the weather became more moderate; that frigate he ſoon after quitted for the Centurion; but on ſeeing ten ſail of the French ſquadron at anchor, about twenty-five leagues eaſtward of Cape May, his Lordſhip left the Centurion in a proper ſtation to watch their motions, and to direct any Britiſh ſhips that might arrive, and, again going on board the Phœnix, reached Sandy-hook on the evening of the 17th, that place being the rendezvous appointed in caſe of a ſeparation *.

This ſtorm proved much more fatal to the French ſhips than to the Engliſh. Their Admiral's own ſhip, the Languedoc, of ninety guns, loſt her maſts, and narrowly eſcaped being taken by a fifty-gun ſhip, commanded by Capt. Dawſon, whoſe ſuperior courage and dexterity ſupplied the place of force; but in the moment when he was about to ſeize his glorious prey, ſix French ſhips of force appeared, and averted the otherwiſe inevitable fate of their Admiral. The Engliſh acquired great honour in every

* Hervey's Naval Hiſtory, p. 555.

action

action which they maintained; Commodore Hotham, in another fifty-gun ſhip, fell in with the Tonnant of eighty guns, which the ſtorm had alſo diſmaſted. This ſhip would have fallen a prey to the Engliſh, if it had not been reſcued by the coming up of the French fleet. Capt. Raynor, in the Iſis, another fifty-gun ſhip, fought a French ſeventy-four gun ſhip for an hour and half, within piſtol-ſhot, both ſhips had ſuffered nothing by the tempeſt, yet Capt. Raynor not only defended himſelf, but at length compelled his antagoniſt to put before the wind.

The Engliſh had now gained a ſuperiority over their enemies on the American coaſt, by another ſixty-four gun ſhip, one of Byron's ſquadron, having arrived. D'Eſtaing collected his ſcattered fleet off Rhode-Iſland, and whilſt he remained in that bay, he became expoſed to ſimilar dangers, as thoſe which the Britiſh Admiral had ſo lately eſcaped in the Delaware; he too was ſaved by the ſame means, for Lord Howe did not appear until his enfeebled enemy had reached the port of Boſton *. The arrival of Admiral Byron ſome time after, cauſed the command in chief to devolve on him, and Lord Howe returned home.

It was little leſs mortifying to France than to America, to ſee that formidable fleet, which had ſix thouſand land forces on board, inſtead of effecting the great things which had been expected from it, enter the port of its new ally, a diſtreſſed fugitive. Theſe diſappointments which had happened, notwithſtanding the force under Byron had been rendered incapable of taking any part in the naval campaign, by a tempeſt which diſperſed and ſhattered his ſhips, cauſed mutual diſſatisfaction, and heightened that natural ill-will which ſubſiſted be-

* Auguſt 30, 1778.

tween

tween the people of Maſſachuſet's Bay and the French, particularly among the lower ranks, ſo as to produce affrays and ſkirmiſhes between the townſmen and the ſailors, which the magiſtrates and officers, with all their exertions, were hardly able to ſuppreſs. Sullivan being now abandoned by the fleet, retreated from Rhode-Iſland, which Sir Henry Clinton in perſon, with four thouſand men, had proceeded by ſea to relieve.

The operations of the army at New-York, during the campaign of 1778, were carried on by detachments. Major General Grey deſtroyed in Plymouth county, eight large veſſels, and ſeventy ſloops and ſchooners of inferior ſize, with all the magazines and ſtores in thoſe parts; and from a ſmall but fertile iſland called Martha's, or Martin's Vineyard, carried off the amazing quantity of ten thouſand ſheep and three hundred oxen for the ſupply of the army at New-York, a contribution which he had exacted from the inhabitants. The ſame officer ſoon after ſurprized a regiment of American light horſe, called Baylor's regiment, at New Tapan, near the North River, almoſt the whole of which was put to the ſword. An expedition to Egg-harbour on the Jerſey-coaſt proved likewiſe ſucceſsful, in deſtroying ſome privateers, and ſurpriſing three troops of light infantry in the night, moſt of whom were ſlain.

Theſe inſtances of mercileſs rancour in Britiſh ſoldiers, were however greatly outdone by the ſavages, in their incurſions into the Back Settlements, in which expeditions they were guided by the American refugees, who had taken ſhelter among them, and whoſe reſentments againſt their countrymen diſpoſed them to join in any deliberate acts of cruelty. The infant ſettlement of Wyoming, which had

had been peopled by the over-flowings of population in Connecticut, was doomed to become a dreadful example of the exterminating ſpirit which may ſeize human breaſts. The fine river Suſquehanna ran through this diſtrict, which, though it dated its firſt eſtabliſhment ſubſequent to the concluſion of the late war, poſſeſſed ſuch uncommon advantages in ſoil and climate, that it became extremely populous; whilſt the productions of the earth increaſed in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. A thouſand men from this country ſerved in the American army, ſo that the ſettlement was left in a very weak ſtate of defence;, which being reported to Col. Butler, who had been employed as an agent among the northern ſavages, and who had ſometimes acted as their leader, he immediately led a body of about fifteen hundred men, partly Indians, and the reſt diſguiſed like ſuch, againſt this hitherto happy region, which was protected from attacks by four forts. The firſt of theſe was voluntarily ſurrendered, being occupied by thoſe who are called Tories: the ſecond was taken by ſtorm, and the men who were found in it were murdered, with many aggravations of malicious cruelty, but the women and children were ſpared. Under pretence of holding a parley, Butler drew the principal officer, with a great part of his force, from the third fort, into an ambuſcade, where they were cut to pieces, only the commander and about ſeventy of his men eſcaping. The invader then inveſted the fort, thus rendered incapable of any effectual defence, and to appal the ſpirits of the miſerable wretches within it, he ſent them two hundred gory ſcalps of their murdered relations and comrades. When the beſieged begged to know what terms he would grant them on ſurrendering, he replied, "the hatchet." Deſpair cauſed the place to be defended a ſhort time longer, but it was at length ſurrendered at diſcretion. The conquerors,

now

now grown weary of manual butcheries, after having ſelected ſome few from the general ſacrifice, ſhut up the reſt, without regard to ſex or age, and ſetting fire to the building, enjoyed the diabolical paſtime which ſuch a ſpectable afforded; whilſt their ears were gratified with the piercing cries of the tormented and expiring victims. Another fort ſtill remained unattacked, but which was ſurrendered without any reſiſtance being offered. It was however fatally proved, that the relentleſs nature of theſe blood-hounds could neither be humanized by ſubmiſſion, nor ſatiated by ſlaughter. Some provincial militia, who were found in the fort, were put to death on the ſpot, but with lingering and laboured cruelty: the reſt, of each ſex and all ages, were ſhut up in the houſes, which were immediately ſet on fire, and the inhabitants and their dwellings periſhed together. The families of ſuch as were denominated Tories, were, in general, ſaved from this maſſacre, though in many inſtances the rage for carnage was indiſcriminating. No ſooner were the inhabitants extirpated, than the country was laid waſte, and the cattle that eſcaped with life, were ſuffered to live only to endure a keen ſenſe of miſery, by their tongues being cut out, or their bodies maimed in ſome irremediable manner.—The facts here ſtated are taken from the account of this expedition which was publiſhed by Congreſs. None other has appeared, nor has the authenticity of this account been controverted.

A party of Americans, eager to revenge ſuch a ſcene of deſolation as the world has been a ſtranger to for more than a century, not long after, penetrated with uncommon perſeverance, and in contempt of every danger, into the receſſes from whence theſe fiends had iſſued. All the caution with which they approached, could not prevent an alarm being ſpread, ſo that the inhabitants, both Indians and

Refugees,

Refugees, eſcaped; but their houſes, and every thing which they poſſeſſed, were deſtroyed and laid waſte.

A Colonel Clerke, about the ſame time, proceeded from Virginia into the country of the Illinois, a nation of Indians dwelling near the Upper Miſſiſſippi, among whom the French are ſettled in great numbers. His principal object was to ſeize the French Governor, M. de Rocheblave, who had been very active in ſtirring up the Indians to attack the back ſettlements, and who had paid them a price for ſcalps. Although twelve hundred miles were to be paſſed in order to arrive at Kaſkaſkias, the place of his reſidence, yet the purpoſe was fully accompliſhed. The place was completely ſurprized, the Governor was ſeized upon, and ſent priſoner to Virginia: all his papers were likewiſe ſecured. In this expedition the Indians were every where ſlain without mercy, but the French inhabitants obtained ſecurity in their lives and property, by taking an oath of allegiance to the new States.

Whilſt theſe horrid ſcenes were tranſacting in the Back ſettlements, the Sieur Gerrard arrived at Philadelphia, inveſted with a public character from the court of France to the American States. The Congreſs having now returned to their original place of aſſembly, received this Miniſter in due form, in that very city from whence the Britiſh Commiſſioners had been compelled to withdraw a few weeks before. Theſe Commiſſioners, now deſpairing of rendering any ſervice to their country by their embaſſy, iſſued a long manifeſto from New-York *, addreſſed to the people at large of the Thirteen Colonies; in which they repreſented the conduct of Congreſs, as deſtructive of the true intereſts of

* October 3, 1778.

America:

America: they charged that body with having assumed powers which their constituents had not delegated to them, and with deluding and deceiving the people. They then pronounced their farewel to America, by saying, "that the country having professed the unnatural design not only of estranging herself from Great-Britain, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to France, the question is, how far Great-Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless, a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandisement of France. Under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct her conduct, and if the British Colonies are to become an accession to France, those laws will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

One of the first consequences of hostilities being commenced by the French on the coast of America, was, the dispossessing them of their fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland, which the peace of Paris had granted to them, rather as a matter of favour, to be held at the good pleasure of Great-Britain, than as a tenure to be maintained by force of arms. Admiral Montague, therefore, who at this time commanded on the Newfoundland station, sent Commodore Evans with a sufficient force, to seize upon the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. The Governor and inhabitants, amounting, with garrison and seamen, to near two thousand men, capitulated *, and were conveyed to France, upon which the islands were reduced to their former state of desolation.

As soon as an approaching war with France was rumoured in England, a committee of the West India merchants waited upon Lord North, to re-

* Sept. 15, 1778.

present

preſent the defenceleſs ſtate of the Weſt India Iſlands, and to ſolicit that a proper force might be ſent out for their defence. The miniſter expreſſed his concern, that the poſture of public affairs was ſuch, as rendered it impoſſible for government to ſtrengthen thoſe poſſeſſions with any additional troops, and recommended to the merchants, that they ſhould provide a ſufficient ſecurity by their own exertions. The defenceleſs ſtate of Dominica could not be concealed from the French; whilſt the ſituation of that iſland between Martinico and Guadaloupe, cauſed the Marquis de Bouille, Governor general of the former, to endeavour to re-annex this ſpot to the crown of France. As ſoon, therefore, as he received the document from his court, which was equivalent to a declaration of war in the Weſt Indies, he proceeded thither with 2000 troops, and as fewer than 100 regulars defended the works, a capitulation followed of courſe *. Governor Stuart, who commanded, obtained ſuch favourable terms for the inhabitants, that the event was to them little more than a change of ſovereigns. The French ſoldiers and volunteers were gratified by receiving a conſiderable ſum in ready money in lieu of pillage, which prevented the ſmalleſt diſorder being committed. Notwithſtanding the want of a garriſon rendered the iſland defenceleſs, yet one hundred and ſixty-four cannon, and two braſs mortars were found there, together with a very ample ſupply of warlike ſtores, which, though they did not at all ſerve to ſecure the place from a foreign attack, greatly enhanced the value of its conqueſt. The Marquis, effectually to ſecure what he had ſo eaſily gained, left a garriſon of fifteen hundred men on the iſland. The loſs of this little ſpot proved of vaſt diſadvantage to our naval operations in

* September 7, 1778.

the

the Weſt Indies, and when the circumſtances of it are conſidered, Dominica may be ſaid to have been conquered in America. The enormous ſum of 70,000l. ſterling had been expended on its harbour and fortifications: a ſum little ſhort of that which had been received from government by the ſale of lands in all the ceded iſlands!

The intereſts of Great Britain in the Eaſt Indies, were however attended to as early and efficaciouſly as poſſible. The chairman of the Eaſt India Company having communicated with the miniſtry on the poſture of affairs with reſpect to Great Britain and France, was authoriſed to ſend advice over-land to the preſidency at Madraſs, of the approaching rupture between the two kingdoms. The officer who was entruſted with this buſineſs, received inſtructions not to paſs through, or even to touch upon the kingdom of France, leſt ſuſpicions ſhould be excited concerning the purport of his diſpatches: he therefore proceeded through Germany, and reached Madraſs with ſuch celerity, that the Company's forces were forming for the purpoſe of laying ſiege to the French ſettlement of Pondicherry, at the very time that the fleets of the two nations were fighting off Uſhant.

Early in the month of Auguſt, Major General Monroe, the Commander in Chief, had approached within four miles of the place, whilſt Sir Edward Vernon, who commanded the fleet on that ſtation, blocked it up by ſea. His whole force conſiſted of a 60 gun ſhip, two frigates, the one of 28, the other of 20 guns, a ſloop, and an Indiaman on her voyage to Europe. Theſe hoſtile attacks were the firſt notices which the French received of any breach between the two ſovereigns. M. de Tronjolly, the French naval commander, ſoon after appeared with a ſuperior force, having a ſhip of 64 guns,

two

two frigates, one of 36, the other of 32 guns, and two Indiamen armed for war. An action immediately took place, which was maintained with warmth for two hours, when Tronjolly retired into Pondicherry; but ſailing out ſome days after, Sir Edward Vernon, who then lay off the harbour, prepared for another engagement. This the French choſe to avoid, even at the inevitable loſs of all their valuable poſſeſſions on the Coromandel coaſt: their ſquadron retreated in the night, and proceeding to the Mauritius, appeared no more in thoſe parts. The frigate of 32 guns, named the Sartine, was taken.

On the 18th of September the batteries were opened before the town. M. de Bellecombe, who commanded, made a gallant defence, and the ſiege was continued very briſkly until the 16th of October, when a general aſſault was intended to have taken place the next day; but the Governor offering to capitulate, prevented the ſlaughter and depredations which are conſequent upon that laſt extremity of civilized war. Honourable terms were granted, and this important conqueſt was made with little loſs. The fortifications have ſince been demoliſhed by orders from home. The poſſeſſions which the French held on the Ganges, ſubmitted without any ſtruggle, ſo that France (as might have been expected) loſt her poſſeſſions in the Eaſt to become patroneſs of the Weſt. The ambition of princes is generally doomed to mourn over loſſes.

The King's ſpeech on opening the ſeſſion *, was totally ſilent with regard to the American war, and the whole of the parliamentary buſineſs, during the ſeſſion, which reſpected America, (the voting of

* September 26, 1778.

ſupplies

ſupplies for continuing the war alone excepted) was brought on by the members in oppoſition. They reprobated the threat which had been denounced againſt America, by the Commiſſioners, previous to their departure from that continent, in very ſevere terms; and in the Houſe of Lords a proteſt was entered againſt it, ſigned by no leſs than thirty-one Peers *.

The attention of parliament now began to be engaged by an altercation which had riſen to a conſiderable height, between the Admirals Keppel and Palliſer, on the conduct of the latter on the 27th of July. It has already been remarked, with what ſucceſsful aſſiduity Admiral Keppel had been traduced in the public prints; at length thoſe news-papers, which ſerved as vehicles for anti-miniſterial doctrines could no longer forbear acting in their vocation, and accordingly took up the other ſide of the queſtion, ſo that the conduct of Sir Hugh Palliſer was brought under diſcuſſion, with no more delicacy than had been ſhewn to his ſuperior officer. During this reciprocation of ſlander, an anonymous letter was inſerted, which was neither ſcurrilous nor miſleading; it ſtated the tranſactions of that day fairly, and drew juſt and obvious concluſions, which indeed conveyed an implied cenſure on the Vice Admiral of the Blue. Sir Hugh Palliſer applied to Admiral Keppel, requiring him to contradict the facts advanced in that paper. The Admiral declared his total ignorance of it or its author; but that he could not conſider himſelf as under any obligation to confute an anonymous writer; he had not thought it worth his while to take notice of any among the numerous attacks which had been made upon himſelf. In a few days after, Sir Hugh Palliſer publiſhed in the news-papers his ſtate of facts, which bore hard on the conduct

* December 7.

of

of his ſuperior officer, and to this piece he ſigned his name.

This procedure cauſed the matter to be agitated in the Houſe of Commons, and a member moved to addreſs his Majeſty for an order to bring Sir Hugh Palliſer to his trial, which was then overruled, but not rejected. Before this propoſition was reſumed, Sir Hugh Palliſer preferred to the Board of Admiralty five articles of accuſation, or ſpecific charges againſt Admiral Keppel, for his conduct on the 27th of July, and demanded a Court-martial to be held on that officer. The Admiralty-board were far from heſitating to comply with a requiſition which affected the life of the moſt reſpectable Commander then in the ſervice, and who, during forty years, had acquired the reſpect, eſteem, and love of the navy: without adverting to ſuſpicious appearance which this conduct bore, of being dictated by perſonal reſentment, from the length of time which had elapſed between the tranſaction on which it was ſtated, and the charges produced; without being withheld by the conſideration of the vaſt injury which ſuch a ſtep muſt inevitably produce to the public ſervice, not only by encouraging a captious humour towards ſuperior officers, but by introducing diviſions and animoſities into the navy, at a time when the ſalvation of the nation depended upon the united exertions of that body of men; and finally without regarding the act of indelicacy, in giving countenance to a member of their own board, in his attack upon one, in every reſpect whatever his ſuperior, whilſt the accuſer might be ſuppoſed to have taken this ſtep for the purpoſe of ſkreening himſelf; uninfluenced by any, or all of thoſe motives, they ſuffered an ill-founded plea of official duty to varniſh over their prompt alacrity, and immediately ſent a copy of the charges to the accuſed

Admiral,

Admiral, accompanied with a notice for him to prepare for his ſpeedy trial. Such a conduct ſpread diſguſt through the navy, and no leſs than twelve Admirals,* at the head of whom appeared the reſpectable name of Lord Hawke, ſigned a memorial, which was preſented to his Majeſty, in which they founded their complaint againſt the conduct of the Board of Admiralty upon the grounds above ſtated.

A court-martial was accordingly appointed to be held on board the Britannia, in Portſmouth harbour; but in conſequence of the Admiral's ill ſtate of health, an act of parliament was paſſed empowering the Lords of the Admiralty to order it to be held on ſhore: from the ſhip it was therefore adjourned to the Governor's houſe at Portſmouth, and began on the 8th of January, 1779. On the 11th of February, which was the thirty-ſecond day of trial, the court having heard the evidence and the priſoner's defence, were of opinion, "that the charge was malicious and ill-founded; † it having appeared, that the Admiral ſo far from having by miſconduct and neglect of duty, on the days therein alluded to, loſt an opportunity of rendering eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, and thereby tarniſhed the luſtre of the Britiſh navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave and experienced officer. The court therefore unanimouſly and honourably acquitted the ſaid Admiral Auguſtus Keppel, of the ſeveral articles contained in the charge againſt him." Sir Thomas Pye, the preſident on delivering to Admiral Keppel his ſword, addreſſed him in the following words: "Admiral Keppel! it is no ſmall pleaſure for me to receive the commands of the court I have the honour to pre-

* Hawke, Moore, Bolton, Graves, Pigot, Harland, Briſtol, Young, Barton, Geary, Shuldham, and Gayton.

† In affixing this mark of ſtrong and ſevere condemnation in the body of the ſentence, on the conduct of the accuſer, the court-martial conſidered themſelves as a court of military honour, as well as of critical juriſdiction. *Annual Regiſter.*

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ſide at, that in delivering you your ſword, I am to congratulate you on its being reſtored to you with ſo much honour; hoping ere long you will be called forth by your Sovereign to draw it once more in defence of your country."

Immediately upon the acquittal of Admiral Keppel, both Houſes of Parliament voted him their thanks for his gallant conduct on the 27th of July. The vote of thanks was carried without a diſſenting voice in the Houſe of Lords, and was oppoſed by only one member * in the Houſe of Commons.—— Soon after, Sir Hugh Palliſer reſigned his ſeat at the Board of Admiralty, gave up his poſts of Lieutenant-General of the Marines, and Governor of Scarborough Caſtle, and vacating his ſeat in Parliament, kept nothing but his rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue, which he was ſaid to hold as a qualification for his trial by a court-martial. Beſides the honours and authority annexed to theſe diſtinctions, he gave up an income of 4000l. per annum.

Many circumſtances were ſtated in evidence on the trial of Admiral Keppel, which tended to criminate his accuſer, the Lords of the Admiralty therefore iſſued orders for a court-martial to be held on Sir Hugh Palliſer, which began to ſit on board the Sandwich, in Portſmouth harbour, on the 12th of April †. The trial continued until the 5th day of

* Mr. Strutt, member for Malden.

† According to the eſtabliſhed mode of ſelecting officers for courts-martial, the Hon. Keith Stuart, who commanded the Berwick, in Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, on the 27th of July, being then at Portſmouth, would have been a member of this court, had he not been ſummoned as a witneſs on the trial, but being thereby diſqualified, a nephew of the Admiral to be tried, took his place. Capt. Stuart was not examined on the trial. Lord Longford, of the America, whoſe ſtation was near Sir Hugh Palliſer on the day of action, was ſent out upon

May, when all the witneſſes having been examined, and Sir Hugh Palliſer having made his defence, the court proceeded to deliver their opinion, which was, "That the behaviour of the Vice-Admiral of the Blue on the 27th and 28th days of July, was, in many inſtances, highly meritorious and exemplary; but that he was blameable for not making the diſtreſſed ſituation of his ſhip known to the Admiral, either by the Fox or otherwiſe. Yet as he was cenſurable in no other part of his conduct, the court are of opinion, he ought, notwithſtanding that, to be acquitted, and he is acquitted accordingly."—Vice-Admiral Darby, the preſident, then delivered Sir Hugh Palliſer his ſword, with this ſhort addreſs, "Sir, I am directed by the court to return you your ſword." Sir Hugh being preſent the next levee day at St. James's, was preſented to his Majeſty, and graciouſly received *. About the ſame time Sir Robert Harland ſtruck his flag at Portſmouth, and reſigned his command.

It is now neceſſary to return to the proceedings in Parliament, and the attempts made to afford relief to Ireland, come next to be ſpoken of. Earl Nugent deſcribed the great diſtreſſes of that kingdom, the manufacturers as ſuffering every ſpecies of human miſery, and if not ſpeedily relieved, he foretold that they would infallibly migrate, and carry upon a cruiſe. It has been remarked, that three captains of the blue diviſion, who were involved in the Admiral's guilt, ſat in judgment upon him.

* As the Admiral had now been acquitted by a court-martial, in ſome meaſure to compenſate for the ſacrifices which he had made of poſts and emoluments, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy, the next year, he was appointed his ſucceſſor as Governor of Greenwich hoſpital, and ſome time after, is ſaid to have been fixed upon to command a fleet deſtined to the Eaſt-Indies, but the Lord Chancellor refuſed to affix the great ſeal to the commiſſion.

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their uſeful arts along with them. The ſubject was frequently introduced. His lordſhip aſſerted, that the revenue of Ireland was then ſo diminiſhed, that it yielded little more than the expences of its civil eſtabliſhment, and he appealed to the miniſter for the truth of his aſſertion. Lord Beauchamp informed the Houſe, that the Iriſh expected a free exportation, except in the article of woollens. When theſe applications proved of no avail, Mr. Burke ſpoke of 11,000 men in arms, all diſciplined troops, which the conſtitution knew nothing of; a new kind of national defence, which he feared would prove too powerful for adminiſtration to control. The Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, in the Houſe of Lords, laboured the ſame point, but without effect. At length, towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, Lord Gower entered into a kind of engagement for himſelf and his colleagues in the miniſtry, that a proper plan for the affairs of Ireland ſhould be prepared and digeſted by the miniſtry, during the ſummer receſs, and in readineſs to lay before parliament at the opening of the next ſeſſion, by which procraſtination, the wound which at that time might have been healed, was ſuffered to become gangrenous.

The conduct of the firſt Lord of the Admiralty underwent a very ſevere reprehenſion, for having ſent out Admiral Keppel with only 20 ſhips, when he knew, or ought to have known, that the French fleet conſiſted of 32. The vaſt ſums voted for the various ſervices of the navy, during the years that the Earl of Sandwich had preſided over that department, were ſhewn to exceed, in a moſt aſtoniſhing degree, the proviſion made by parliament for that ſervice, in any equal number of years, or even during the laſt war. The ſtate of our navy was declared to have been ſuperior at the breaking out of that war, to what it then was, and the cauſe of this

alarming decline of ſtrength was attributed to the negligence and miſconduct of the naval miniſter.

The pleas urged by the noble Earl in his defence were: That the French fleet was not in a condition to ſail out of Breſt, and actually continued in that harbour until the day after Admiral Keppel ſailed a ſecond time out of the channel *. The neglected ſtate in which the navy lay when Lord Hawke quitted the Admiralty Board, was pleaded as the principal cauſe, which furniſhed ground for the preſent complaint, although the comparative view which was taken of the navy in the years 1755 and 1778, was objected to as deluſive. A fire at Portſmouth, which had conſumed large quantities of ſtores, and a combination of the workmen, which had impeded the building and repairing of ſhips, were repreſented as events which muſt inevitably embarraſs the marine miniſter in his attempts to provide a formidable navy. But theſe difficulties, he ſaid, had been ſurmounted: the arſenals in every part of the kingdom were at that time ſo plentifully furniſhed with timber and naval ſtores of all kinds, ſo many ſhips were actually ready for ſea; ſo many more were preparing with vaſt expedition, and would ſoon be finiſhed; ſo that in a very ſhort time, ſuch a naval force would be got together, as would ſtrike terror into our enemies.—Parliamentary enquiries into the conduct of miniſters have long ſince become mere matters of form. The groſſeſt neglects or miſtakes may be gloſſed over by plauſibility, and the beſt founded charges evaded by round aſſertions. Such, however, was not the ſtate of government in this country, during the war which Queen Anne waged with the Houſe of Bourbon; each Houſe of Parliament then inſtitut-

* In one of the ſtate papers iſſued by the court of Verſailles, the reaſon aſſigned why the French fleet did not ſail ſooner, is, that the court of Spain had juſt then become a mediator, to adjuſt the difference between the two nations.

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ed very close and effectual enquiries into the management of naval affairs, even when the Queen's consort was Lord High Admiral. *

In the House of Commons, an enquiry into the conduct of the American war was entered upon.—Many witnesses were examined at the bar, and some in their place as members. The evidence of many tended fully to justify the conduct of Sir William Howe, that of others tended to charge him with a general want of vigilance, and brought particular instances of his conduct as proofs of his having neglec-

* In the year 1704, wo committees of enquiry were appointed by the House of Lords, one of which was to inspect the books at the Admiralty Office, in order to gain exact information of the conduct the Board had pursued, and the other to enquire into what was done at sea. By their means much mismanagement was detected, the whole of which was reported to the House: in consequence of which, an address was presented to the Queen, which covertly reflected on the Prince her consort. Her Majesty, however, wisely concealed her dislike, and in her answer assured the House, that she would take the substance of their address into her serious consideration, and give such directions as should appear most conducive to the public service. Dr. Campbell calls this address, which was presented on the 5th of February, 1704-5, one of the most valuable state-papers extant, as it is a noble instance of the true spirit of an English parliament. "It shews," says he, "how enquiries may, and ought to be conducted, and how agreeable it is to the nature of our constitution to lay before the crown, and exhibit to the people, true representations of the state of public affairs, that men may see how the money goes, which is said to be raised for their service, and not look upon government as a bad steward, that receives and pays without account. This I will be bold to say, was the reason that this war (for the Spanish succession) was carried on so much cheaper than our naval armaments have been ever since; for when enquiries are frequent, frauds seldom happen; but when these are either discouraged, made only for form, or used to serve the little purposes of parties, who, under colour of discovering the faults of a minister, mean no more than to become ministers themselves, things must go from bad to worse, and a spirit of plundering insinuate itself thro' all public offices." *Lives of the Admirals*, III. 407. Note.

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ted to improve obvious and decisive advantages. By these latter class of witnesses he was charged with inattention towards conciliating the minds of the Americans, and in not arming such as were well affected. The most essential witnesses in favour of the Commander in Chief, were, Lieut. General Earl Cornwallis and Major-General Grey; men who had borne the burden and heat of the service during the whole war. Those of most weight on the contrary side, were, General Robertson, Lieutenant-Governor of New-York, and Joseph Galloway, Esq; the former of these, from the post which he held, had obtained but few opportunities of being witness of the distant operations of the army, and the latter, who was a native of America, had been bred a lawyer, and was a member of the first Congress, but afterwards becoming a recusant, he attached himself to the Royal cause. On his examination, he appeared to know much more concerning General Howe, and the business as well as duties of a Commander, than about himself, and those proceedings in Congress in which he had borne a part.

The war had been peculiarly unfortunate, and it was an universally received corollary, that the conduct either of the Minister or of the Commander must have been highly criminal; hence every means were used to criminate the one in order to exculpate the other. We generally attribute all events whether prosperous or adverse, to the arrangements of men rather than to the nature of things, whose influence is, however, much greater, though less visible. The humiliating events of the American war may perhaps be owing neither to any wilful or flagrant misconduct in the Generals employed, nor in the Minister presiding, but to the impracticability of the attempt arising from the want of a sufficient force; could an Alva or a Parma subdue the Flemings, although the two greatest Generals of that age, when

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the military character of Spain was at its height? Although the firſt annexed the kingdom of Portugal to the crown of Spain, he only impoveriſhed his country, and degraded himſelf in the Low Countries. In deciding upon the conduct of the American war, great diſplays of talents or zeal, at home or abroad, are out of the queſtion; no ennobling merit can be claimed by any one, nothing more can be pleaded than not to have been intentionally wrong.

Theſe enquiries had been ſet on foot by Sir William Howe and Lord Howe, after which General Burgoyne made his appeal to the Houſe. Being conſidered in the light of a priſoner to the American States, he was denied admittance to his Sovereign, and his requeſt to be tried by a Court-martial was alſo refuſed; he therefore threw himſelf upon the juſtice, and claimed the protection of the Houſe of Commons, as the only means in his power of clearing his character to his profeſſion and to his country, by procuring a parliamentary enquiry. Sir Guy Carleton, late Governor of Quebec, was examined, and many of the officers who had ſerved on that unfortunate expedition, the evidence of every one of whom tended to place the merit and ſufferings of the General in a very ſtrong light. No endeavours were uſed by the miniſtry to weaken the force of this body of evidence; and all the reports which had been generally circulated and believed reſpecting the General's conduct in particular ſpecified inſtances, in which it appeared to have been injudicious, and contrary to the opinions of the beſt officers ſerving under him, more eſpecially his paſſing the army over Hudſon's River, were found to be altogether groundleſs and falſe.

The Miniſtry, probably apprehenſive of the conſequences which might enſue from ſuch a full and uncon-

uncontroverted exculpation of the General, cauſed repeated notices to be ſent him from the Secretary at War, that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure he ſhould return to his army at Boſton *. Finding all his endeavours to avert this ſentence of exile, ineffectual, he threw up every appointment which he held under the crown, and thereby became no longer ſubject to orders from that quarter.

The ſeſſion had been continued to an unuſual length, when a Royal meſſage to each Houſe was officially preſented ‡, which was accompanied by a Manifeſto from the court of Spain, delivered by the Marquis D'Almodovar, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, who had therewith received letters of recal. In this implied declaration of war, the court of Madrid complained in a very general and vague manner, of a variety of affronts and injuries which had been received from Great Britain. Theſe were ſtated to amount to juſt one hundred in number; beſides which, the Manifeſto ſpoke in a haughty and angry tone, of the Britiſh Miniſtry having applied to the court of Spain to become a mediator in the diſpute between France and Great Britain, which having been accepted, the negotiation was protracted and

* Theſe orders occaſioned him to addreſs a letter of remonſtrance to the Secretary, in which he ſaid, "I am deprived of a Court-martial upon my conduct in America, becauſe I am not ſuppoſed to be amenable to the juſtice of the kingdom; and the King is told, I have diſobeyed his orders, in the very ſame breath in that I am ſtated not to be accountable to him. By this doctrine it ſeems ſuppoſed, that I am not capable of receiving orders for the purpoſe of public juſtice or public ſervice, but am perfectly ſubject to all ſuch as have a tendency to my own deſtruction."—Lord Peterſham, the preſent Earl of Harrington, ſurrendered at Saratoga along with Gen. Burgoyne; that nobleman, inſtead of being ordered back to America, raiſed a company, and went with it to Jamaica.

† June 17, 1779.

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ſlighted by the Britiſh Miniſtry, who ſhewed no ſincere deſire of profiting by the mediation which they had fought.

A general conſternation ſeized the nation upon the appearance of another enemy, although the ſtate of politics in Europe at that time, ſeemed obviouſly to point it out. Neither friend nor ally preſented itſelf in this ſeaſon of our extremity; the criſis was awful and alarming; the Britiſh empire ſeemed to ſhake to its foundations, yet the nation felt no deſponding panic, but ſeemed ready to meet its fate with a fixed firmneſs. During the firſt emotion, a bill was framed for doubling the militia, which however did not paſs into a law, but the powers veſted in the Board of Admiralty to impreſs ſeamen, were enlarged, and the claim of protections, in many inſtances, were rendered invalid.

The neceſſity of putting an end to the war in America, was now reiterated with redoubled force, but ſtill the attachment to that ruinous and hopeleſs conteſt was unalterable; neither the expediency of ſtriving to reduce the growing power of France and Spain, which called for the full exertion of our own, nor a regard to the inſtinctive principle of ſelf-preſervation, could be ſuffered to operate whilſt America remained unſubdued.

The ſupplies for the year 1779 had been ſtated by the Miniſter in this ſeſſion rather earlier than uſual; the budget having been opened on the 24th of February, ſo that no proviſion was made for raiſing a force to withſtand the attacks from Spain. The ſervices of the year were then eſtimated to require 15,729,654l *. The land-tax and duties

* N A V Y.

70,000 ſeamen, including 17,389 marines, ordinary, building and repairing ſhips 4,589,069

[N. B. Nothing was voted for Greenwich Hoſpital.]

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upon malt furniſhed their wonted proportions. Seven millions were raiſed by annuities, and a Lottery, conſiſting of forty-nine thouſand tickets, was diſtributed among

ARMY.

30,346 effective men, including every expence,	1,085,926
Proviſions for forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Gibraltar, the Ceded Iſlands, and Africa	1,103,118
Foreign troops ſerving in America, with the ſubſidies, proviſions, and artillery, amounting to about 22,000 men - - -	654,674
Hanoverians ſerving at Gibraltar and Minorca	56,075
Augmentations to the forces of 1779 - -	259,715
Extraordinaries of the land-ſervice - -	2,026,137
Ordnance - - - - -	917,364
Chelſea Hoſpital - - - -	103,127
Militia in England, and Fencible men in Scotland; cloathing for ditto, and additional companies - - - - -	724,304

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

To the Levant Company - -	5,000	
New Roads, &c. in Scotland - -	6,995	
Augmentation of Salaries to Judges -	4,100	
Sums iſſued in purſuance of Addreſſes from the Houſe of Commons - -	32,968	
Maintaining and employing Convicts on the Thames - - -	13,586	
For the Relief of Loyal American Refugees - - -	60,527	
Surveys in North America -	2,041	
For diſcovering a Method of dying Scarlet and Crimſon on Linen and Cotton	5,000	
Civil Eſtabliſhments in the Iſland of St. John's, Georgia, E and W. Florida	20,796	
Forts and Settlements in Africa -	13,000	
		164,013
Laſt Year's Votes of Credit diſcharged -		1,000,000
Exchequer Bills diſcharged - -		2,000,000
Prizes in Lottery, 1778, paid off - -		490,000

Deficiencies

among the ſubſcribers, in the proportion of ſeven tickets for every thouſand pounds ſubſcribed, at 10l. each ticket. Lord North ſaid, he wanted to have raiſed eight millions, but could procure no more than ſeven. The whole amount of the money raiſed by the Lottery was to be diſtributed in prizes. The ſinking fund furniſhed 2,071,854l*. Exchequer bills, to the amount of 3,400,000l. were voted, and other leſs conſiderable articles of revenue completed the Ways and Means. The number of ſeamen was augmented to ſeventy thouſand, and the land forces to thirty thouſand three hundred and forty-ſix. A vote of credit for a million was afterwards paſſed. No part of the Navy debt was diſcharged this year. The terms on which the loan was filled, were, beſides the douceur of Lottery tickets, three per cent. per annum, and an annuity of 3l. 15s. per annum for the term of twenty-nine years, for every 100l. The annual intereſt payable on the money borrrowed, amounted to 472,500l. to raiſe which, an additional duty of five per cent. was laid on the full produce of the Exciſe; beer, ale, ſoap, candles, and hides excepted; (which was eſtimated at 282,109l.) a tax on poſt-horſes of one penny per mile (164,250l.): an additional duty of five per cent on cambricks, (36,000).

No more than fifteen days elapſed between the delivery of the Spaniſh Manifeſto and a Spaniſh army blockading Gibraltar. The attention of Go-

Deficiencies in Land, 250,000l. Malt, 200,000l.
Fund in 1758, 40,540l. Ditto in 1778, 98,891l.
In Grants for 1778, 66,744l. - - - 656,175
[Note. The enumerated Articles of Expence exceed the given Total, by One Hundred Thouſand Pounds.]

* The produce of the ſinking fund, at the quarter ending 5th of January, 1779, was not ſpecified as uſual, becauſe the large appropriation of that fund the preceding year had conſumed more than the whole.

vernment had been however effectually employed to put that important poſſeſſion into a ſtrong ſtate of defence. A numerous garriſon defended the works, and an ample ſupply of ammunition and neceſſaries were depoſited in the magazines; but we ſhall forbear to ſpeak of the military tranſactions in Europe during the year 1779, until the events which turned up in the weſtern hemiſphere are related.

Whilſt Admiral Byron's fleet blocked up the harbour of Boſton, D'Eſtaing dared not put to ſea, but a ſtorm having driven the former from his ſtation in the beginning of November, 1779, the latter took the opportunity to make his eſcape, and proceeded to the Weſt-Indies. Towards the latter end of the ſame month a body of troops, conſiſting of Highlanders, Heſſians, and Provincials, were commanded by Lieutenant Col. Campbell, embarked in tranſports at New York, and being accompanied by a ſquadron under Commodore Hyde Parker, proceeded to Savannah in Georgia, whilſt Major General Prevoſt, who commanded in Eaſt-Florida, was directed to co-operate in the deſign of reducing that province, by entering it from St. Auguſtine, with all the force which he could draw together. Colonel Campbell, as has been related, was made priſoner at Boſton, ſoon after the Britiſh army left the town. He had endured a long and rigorous captivity, but he now compenſated for his inaction, by totally defeating, immediately upon his landing, the American force which was collected for the defence of the Province, and commanded by a Major General Robert Howe. He became maſter of the town of Savannah, as the firſt fruits of this victory, which was diſtinguiſhed by a conduct not very prevalent in this civil war, for no violences were committed on the inhabitants, neither did any vindictive ſlaughter of the vanquiſhed troops

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ſtain the glories of the day. Had Colonel Campbell been actuated by perſonal reſentment for the injuries he had ſuffered, he might have converted himſelf into the inſtrument for executing the valedictory threat of the Commiſſioners, but he aſſociated humanity with his courage and conduct. The Province was ſubdued ſo ſoon after this deciſive ſtroke, that General Prevoſt had only the opportunity of reducing the town of Sunbury. The chief command now devolved on that officer, and he was not backward to follow up theſe ſignal ſucceſſes*. General Lincoln had arrived at South-Carolina with an army for the protection of that Province, and poſted himſelf on its ſouthern frontier. A detachment from this army, conſiſting of two thouſand men, was, by an effort of ſuperior generalſhip, ſo completely ſurpriſed, as to loſe one fourth of their numbers in killed or made priſoners, whilſt thoſe who eſcaped, abandoned their arms, which, together with the ammunition, baggage, cannon and proviſion, became the ſpoil of the conqueror†. Some time after, Lincoln having changed his poſition, Prevoſt entered South-Carolina with three thouſand men, and gaining three days march of his adverſary, appeared before Charleſtown, which he ſummoned to ſurrender the 12th of May. No terms which he could offer, however favourable, were ſufficient to induce a ſurrender, but it was propoſed that the city and whole Province ſhould obſerve a neutrality during the war, which being rejected on the other ſide, a general aſſault was expected by the inhabitants; the general, however, being without artillery, and unſupported by a naval force,

* The General immediately declared the Province in the King's peace; which ſhews the uſeleſſneſs of the commiſſion which was ſent out principally for that purpoſe, but without exerciſing ſuch authority in any one diſtrict.

† March, 3, 1779.

deſiſted.

deſiſted. He then took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Port-Royal, by which he obtained a ſecure footing in the Province, whilſt General Lincoln, with five thouſand Americans, was unable to diſpoſſeſs Lieut. Colonel Maitland of a ſtrong poſt which he occupied at Stony Ferry.

The campaign on the ſide of New-York was languid, and its operations confined to the ſurpriſe of poſts and deſultory excurſions. An expedition was undertaken to the Cheſapeak in the beginning of May, in which Sir George Collier commanded the fleet, which effected the deſtruction of vaſt quantities of tobacco, large magazines of proviſions and naval ſtores, together with one hundred and thirty ſhips and veſſels, which were either burnt or taken. Another expedition to the coaſt of Connecticut, occaſioned the deſtruction of the towns of Fairfield, Norwalk and Greenfield. The loſs of an American fleet which ſailed from Boſton, to reduce a fortreſs lately conſtructed by Colonel Macleane on the river of Penobſcot, was an irreparable blow to the Northern Colonies, by reducing a maritime force, which they had uſed every poſſible means to raiſe that human exertions could ſupply. The vigilance, intrepidity, and ſeamanſhip of Sir George Collier, atchieved this great exploit. Eight American frigates, from thirty-two to ſixteen guns, and ſeven armed brigs were blown up; four more were taken; but the crews of the ſhips deſtroyed eſcaped on ſhore.

The arrival of D'Eſtaing in the Weſt Indies had been preceded by a large body of troops under Major General Grant, which Sir Henry Clinton had ſent for the protection of the Britiſh iſlands there. This force, aſſiſted by the fleet under Admiral Barrington, made a deſcent on the French Iſland of St. Lucia, and were on the point of becoming maſters of the whole, when D'Eſtaing appeared with fifteen

ſhips

ſhips to its relief. The danger of the Britiſh fleet and army became extreme, but the event of the conteſt diſplayed, in the moſt illuſtrious manner, the ſuperiority of their valour and ſkill. The French commander, unable to make any impreſſion upon the troops, who received him with a cool firmneſs, and ſwept away his men by their well directed fire, was equally incapable of bringing his ſuperior naval ſtrength to bear upon the Britiſh ſhips. After having ſuffered a loſs in killed and wounded, of 1600 men, foiled and diſgraced in all his attempts, he abandoned the iſland, which immediately ſurrendered; ſo that he had the additional mortification of ſeeing the Britiſh flag flying from all quarters. The bravery of our troops, though it could chaſe away a foreign enemy, could not withſtand the noxious qualities of the climate; both ſoldiers and ſailors fell a prey to that deſtroyer. The labour which was requiſite to put the place in a reſpectable ſtate of defence, increaſed the mortality, and cauſed the poſſeſſion of St. Lucia to be obtained at too dear a rate.

Admiral Byron arrived ſoon after, when Barrington, whoſe name ought ever to be revered for the eſſential ſervices which he rendered his country, in repelling this formidable attack of the French, became ſecond in command. Soon after, the Britiſh fleet was reinforced by a ſquadron under Admiral Rowley, and the French by one under M. de Graſſe. The attention which was neceſſary to be paid to a valuable fleet of merchant ſhips which were collected at St. Chriſtopher's, to proceed to England, obliged Admiral Byron to quit his ſtation off Martinique. This furniſhed an opportunity for a ſmall body of troops, not more than four hundred and fifty men, to be conveyed to the iſland of St. Vincent, where the diſpoſition of the French

inhabitants,

inhabitants, and of the native caribbs, were well known. This ſmall force, under the command of an officer of inferior rank, found means to reduce the iſland *, although defended by upwards of four hundred regular troops. The bad policy of that ſeverity which had been exerciſed towards the native Indians upon that iſland, then became apparent, and a valuable poſſeſſion was loſt, by government having yielded a few years before to the ſolicitations of injuſtice and rapacity †. The good fortune of France now prevailed. La Motte Piquet arrived about the ſame time with a reinforcement, having on board troops and naval ſtores, whereupon D'Eſtaing immediately put to ſea, and proceeded to the iſland of Grenada, having then twenty-ſix ſhips of the line under his command, and near ten thouſand land forces. The fate of the iſland was inevitable; but the reſolute defence made by Lord Macartney, the Governor, protracted it for ſome time, until a hill which commanded the fort, being forced, after a gallant defence, in which the French loſt three hundred men, the Governor propoſed to capitulate; but the terms offered by the French General, with the haughty port of a conqueror, being unuſually hard, the fort and iſland was ſurrendered at diſcretion ‡. The behaviour of D'Eſtaing, in this firſt ſucceſsful enterprize, degraded his character by the ſeverity and oppreſſion with which his conduct was marked. That ſeries of adverſe fortune which had hitherto attended him, could not fail of making a deep impreſſion on a man ſo exceedingly irritable, and impatient to acquire glory; beſides which, he harboured a perſonal reſentment againſt the Engliſh nation; as he laboured under a charge of having broken his parole when a priſoner in the laſt war, on which account many ex-

* June 16, 1779. † See page 95. ‡ July 3, 1779.

preſſions

of ſtrong contempt had been thrown out by the Britiſh naval commanders, againſt him, of which he was well appriſed, and a mind conſcious of a diſhonourable action is prepared to admit the moſt implacable reſentments *.

The appearance of the Britiſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips of the line, was now too late to ſave the valuable poſſeſſion which it became a witneſs to the loſs of; but interpoſed ſeaſonably for the preſervation of Tobago, the only poſſeſſion which remained to England of the iſlands which were ceded to her at the peace of Paris. A partial engagement followed, in which Admiral Barrington, in the Prince of Wales, with the Captains Sawyer and Gardner, in the Boyne and Sultan, ſuſtained the whole weight of the French van for a conſiderable time; the action was indeciſive; many of our ſhips ſuffered conſiderable damage, and Admiral Barrington received a ſlight wound: the French are ſaid to have had twelve hundred men killed and two thouſand wounded; a Captain and five Lieutenants were ſlain on board one ſhip. Their conduct throughout the action, ſhewed great inattention to ſeize the advantages which preſented, in conſequence of their decided ſuperiority in point of force.

If D'Eſtaing, immediately after this conflict, had bent his whole force againſt Jamaica, it can ſcarcely

* The Count D'Eſtaing reſembles Marſhal Tallard in his defects; he is extremely ſhort-ſighted, and impetuous even to raſhneſs; which cauſed him to be made priſoner before Madraſs in 1758, as Tallard was at the battle of Blenheim. He was permitted to return to Europe on his parole, but during the voyage he cauſed himſelf to be colluſively exchanged, and immediately proceeded againſt the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company's ſettlement of Bencoolen, which he could not fail of reducing. This conduct led the late Admiral Boſcawen to declare, that if it was his fortune to make D'Eſtaing his priſoner, he would chain him to the deck like a monkey.

be doubted that he would have annexed that valuable iſland to the crown of France. The repreſentations which were made to government of its weak ſtate of defence, had been urgent and repeated, but without effect; indeed ſome time after troops did arrive, but the moment of extreme danger was then elapſed. As the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in the ſouthern Provinces was a new and unexpected event, the French commander may be ſuppoſed to have received no poſitive orders from Europe, for attempting the recovery of Georgia and protection of Carolina; the inſtructions under which he acted might perhaps leave him at liberty to chooſe his own plan of conduct, and that he proceeded to the continent ought not to be attributed to warmth of zeal in the cauſe of his maſter's ally, becauſe it was greatly for the intereſt of France to prevent, if poſſible, her rival becoming poſſeſſed of the valuable Province of South Carolina, from whence ſhe drew thoſe articles of commerce which were her only compenſation for this moſt expenſive alliance, and the forces of the country were utterly unequal to the taſk of protecting that Colony, ſo remote from the centre of operations. D'Eſtaing therefore was no ſooner diſengaged from Byron than he proceeded to Georgia, and on his paſſage thither, happened to capture Sir James Wallace in the Experiment, a fifty-gun ſhip, with a large ſum of money on board, to pay the troops at Savannah; three frigates likewiſe fell into his hands.

The French troops were landed on the 9th of September, and on the 16th their General ſummoned the Commander at Savannah to ſurrender the town to the French King. Prevoſt, on the firſt alarm of danger, had called in Colonel Maitland and his force, which then was at Port Royal iſland, and that able officer effected his retreat, and arrived at the moſt critical point of time; for after various letters had been interchanged

changed between the two Generals, Prevoſt was allowed only twenty-four hours for returning a deciſive anſwer. Had D'Eſtaing formed the attack immediately upon his landing, he muſt inevitably have carried the town; but his confidence in the force which he commanded, led him ſo much to deſpiſe his enemy, that he was rendered incautious, and weakly neglected to penetrate into their deſigns. Lincoln, with the American force, arrived the day after the invitation to capitulate had been rejected. The French army is ſuppoſed to have conſiſted of nearly five thouſand men, the American of about three thouſand: the whole force under Prevoſt, comprehending regulars, provincials, and ſailors, might amount to three thouſand, but ardent were the exertions uſed to ſtrengthen the works, and ſupply the want of artillery with the guns from the ſhips. The judicious diſpoſition of this force is to be attributed to Captain Moncrieffe, who was principal Engineer.

An heavy bombardment began on the night of the 3d of October, which proving ineffectual, on the 9th a general aſſault was made upon the Britiſh lines by the French and Americans, on which occaſion D'Eſtaing led his choiceſt troops in perſon. Capt. Taws, who commanded a redoubt, made a moſt heroic defence, but he was at length ſlain, whilſt his ſword was plunged into the body of the third enemy whom he had killed with his own hand. The bravery of this officer had been diſplayed in many actions, but his ſervices had failed of procuring him any advancement in rank. When the foremoſt of the French troops had mounted the works, and were in the near proſpect of becoming maſters of the place, ſome batteries, which were diſcharged by ſeamen, dealt ſuch deſtruction in every direction, as greatly impeded the advancement of the main body; at the ſame time a party of grenadiers and marines, bravely

aſſailed thoſe who had gained the lines, and who had there planted the ſtandards of France and America; theſe they ſlew, and immediately attacked the advancing enemy, ſtopped their progreſs, and threw them into diſorder. All theſe exploits were performed amidſt the obſcurity of night, and by the return of day the enemy were effectually repulſed. At ten in the morning they aſked a truce, for the purpoſe of burying their dead and carrying off their wounded; which lay in ſuch numbers, as in many places to fill up the ditches; the works were ſtrewed with them, and a moſt ſhocking ſcene of ſlaughter preſented itſelf on every ſide. D'Eſtaing himſelf received two dangerous wounds; Count Polaſki, a Poliſh nobleman, who had been an active partiſan in the cauſe of America, was mortally wounded. The French did not loſe leſs than fifteen hundred men in killed and wounded through the whole of this ſervice; the loſs of the Americans was never aſcertained. On the 18th of October each broke up their camp, after having openly and paſſionately reviled the other as the cauſe of their joint misfortune: the former retreated on board their ſhips, the latter to Carolina, leaving General Prevoſt and his brave coadjutors, in poſſeſſion of the higheſt renown, which military merit ſucceſsfully exerted could poſſibly confer. The killed and wounded in this memorable defence, did not amount to more than fifty, but Lieutenant Col. Maitland, who had contributed greatly to this exploit, ſoon after died of a fever brought on by his laborious ſervice.

In the mean time the French fleet had ſuſtained conſiderable damage by tempeſtuous weather, which obliged the Commander to proceed with the chief of his ſhips to Breſt, where he arrived, creſt-fallen and diſguſted, enduring the anguiſh of his wounds, and the keener ſenſations excited by a wounded ſpirit:

defeated

defeated when he had aſſured himſelf of a conqueſt; upbraided by his allies; his military character debaſed, and the expectations of his country blaſted: thus terminated the formidable expedition under the conduct of the Count D'Eſtaing. In Africa the French wreſted from Great Britain the important ſettlement of Senegal, which had been taken from them in the year 1758.

Many were the diſtreſſes and embarraſſments which the States of America experienced. Their wants were numerous, and their reſources ſuch as only their neceſſities could juſtify reſorting to. The ſums which had been iſſued by the authority of Congreſs, in paper currency, exceeded thirty-five millions of dollars, and the conſequent depreciation of that ſymbol greatly ſunk the credit of the New States. Unſucceſsful attempts had been made to negotiate loans in Europe, and debts to the amount of more than eight millions, were contracted, without any funds being provided for their diſcharge, whilſt the war ſtill called for freſh ſupplies. The continental troops, to the want of pay added that of cloathing and other neceſſaries, whilſt the northern Colonies appeared backward to furniſh their contingents, and ſome of the leading men at Boſton, openly expreſſed their apprehenſions from a ſtanding army being maintained, even in ſuch an exigency of affairs, and the popularity of Waſhington became a cauſe of jealouſy to theſe ſharp-ſighted republican theoriſts. The American force at ſea was alſo brought extremely low, and the Sovereign whom they ſtiled their "great and good ally," was not at all diſpoſed to lend any aſſiſtance to reſtore their marine. Nevertheleſs, amidſt poverty, diſtreſs, and internal diviſions, their reſentment againſt England became more rooted and inveterate than ever.

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The ſituation of Great Britain at that time ſeemed to forebode an utter extinction of her power and conſequence. The Manifeſtos of France and Spain avowed the motives for their confederacy to be, beſides the avenging their reſpective injuries, "a deſign to put an end to that tyrannical empire which England had uſurped and pretended to maintain upon the ocean." To execute theſe threats, a fleet, conſiſting of twenty-eight ſail, under the command of M. D'Orvilliers, ſailed from Breſt in the month of June, 1779, and joined a yet more numerous Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz, the French Admiral being entruſted with the chief command of this combined force, which amounted to ſixty-ſix ſhips of the line, beſides a vaſt number of frigates. Sir Charles Hardy was appointed to the command of the Britiſh fleet which was to defend the empire againſt its powerful enemies. This officer had quitted the ſervice many years, having obtained the honourable retreat which the government of Greenwich Hoſpital was meant to afford. It had never been his fortune to render himſelf conſpicuous as a commander, and the infirm ſtate of his health was not calculated to procure popularity to himſelf, or ſtimulate to activity in the ſervice, but the operations of the campaign were meant to be merely defenſive, and the debilitude of exhauſted life, it ſhould ſeem, was thought adequate to ſuch a purpoſe. Thirty-ſix ſhips of the line compoſed the grand fleet for the home defence.

The terrors of an invaſion from France were now added to the other dangers which impended. Large bodies of troops were collected along the coaſts of Bretagne and Normandy, which ſpread ſuch a ſerious alarm, that a royal Proclamation was iſſued for driving the cattle from the coaſt of England, in caſe an enemy appeared with and attempted to land. Repeated requiſitions had been made to the States of

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the United Provinces, for the aſſiſtance in troops and ſhips, which by treaties they were engaged to furniſh for the defence of this country; but it had been found impracticable to draw any kind of anſwer from that republic. In this ſtate of affairs, whilſt Sir Charles Hardy was cruiſing to the weſtward, the combined fleet entered the Britiſh channel and appeared before Plymouth, where it continued for three days; during which time no attack was made, although many indications were given of ſuch an intention. It has ſince been diſcovered, that a place of ſuch vaſt importance had been ſo overlooked, as to be utterly unable to make any effectual defence. So notorious had been the negligence in ſuch a momentous concern, that the cannon-balls were found too large for the bore of the guns *, and the future navies of this country were expoſed to the deſtroying vengeance of its boaſtful rival †. This defenceleſs ſtate of the place was happily unknown to the enemy, and it is probable, that no ſerious deſign had been formed of making a deſcent on any part of England. Such a proceeding could hardly have failed to force the Dutch, though moſt unwillingly, to become parties in the quarrel; but the ſickneſs which prevailed on board the ſhips, has been aſſigned as the cauſe of the inefficiency of this vaſt force. It is eaſier to provide ſhips than ſeaſoned ſeamen: a contagious diſtemper raged on board the combined fleet, particularly the Spaniſh ſhips, which ſwept away great numbers daily, and a miſunderſtanding was ſaid to prevail between

* A like miſtake, in not providing proper balls for the cannon, proved very fatal in the action at Bunker's-hill.

† It was underſtood, that a judicial enquiry into the cauſe of the defenceleſs ſtate of Plymouth was to have been ſet on foot; ſo flagrant a breach of duty, called for exemplary puniſhment, the public ſervice demanded it, but ſupineneſs or powerful applications cauſed the inveſtigation to be ſuppreſſed,

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the two commanders. Whatever was the cauſe, they availed themſelves of a ſtrong eaſt wind to get out of the channel, which the Britiſh fleet entered in ſight of D'Orvilliers, by whom it was followed. The Engliſh Admiral proceeded to the Iſle of Wight, ſtill drawing after him the force of the enemy. Here the channel narrowing, an engagement might have been maintained with leſs diſadvantage on the ſcore of numbers, but the conteſt was not brought to that iſſue. The combined fleet again retired, and early in the month of September reached their reſpective ports. The only advantage they gained by this menacing appearance, was in the capture of a ſixty-four gun ſhip, whilſt on its way to join the Engliſh Admiral.

The internal ſtate of the kingdom, at the time when its outward ſplendor was thus eclipſed, became gloomy and cheerleſs. The public funds had fallen twenty-five per cent. in about five years, and the value of land had decreaſed in much the ſame proportion. The immediate ruin of the country was apprehended by many, though a deſponding ſpirit did not generally prevail. Great numbers, who were accuſtomed to draw large incomes from the Weſt-India Iſlands, and who reſided in the capital, living in a ſtyle of elegance and profuſion which the moſt proſperous ſtate of their affairs was ſcarcely able to ſupport, were now obliged to reduce their expences within very narrow bounds, and for that purpoſe quitted the kingdom to reſide in the Auſtrian Netherlands. A gentleman, whoſe rent-rolls in the counties of Huntingdon and Salop amounted to more than 6000l. per annum, had his apprehenſions of a general craſh of property ſo ſtrongly excited, that he ſold all his fine eſtates at ſixteen years purchaſe, and renouncing his native country, went to reſide at Venice, chooſing rather to depoſit his effects in the bank of that republic. On the other

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hand, the expectation of an invaſion produced many inſtances of public ſpirit. Subſcriptions were opened for the ſervice of the ſtate, and large ſums were raiſed in ſeveral counties of England, beſides ſome additional regiments of infantry. The Eaſt-India Company gave bounties for raiſing ſix thouſand ſeamen for the navy, and undertook to build, at their own expence, three ſhips of ſeventy-four guns each, for the public ſervice. In Ireland, volunteer companies were formed, for the purpoſe of defending the kingdom againſt a foreign attack; and ſuch was the readineſs with which all ranks of people there ſubmitted to be trained to arms, that thirty thouſand men were ſoon formed into diſciplined troops. So great an acceſſion of ſtrength gave a tone of reſentment to their intercourſe with Great Britain, which effectually compelled a compliance with their long urged requeſts. Agreements were entered into not to import or conſume any merchandize from Great Britain, and their Parliament paſſed the money-bill, or the act for raiſing the ſupplies, only for the term of ſix months, inſtead of the cuſtomary term of two years. At any other ſeaſon, ſuch a conduct would have been conſidered as an act of rebellion, and the force of the kingdom both by ſea and land, would have been drawn out to chaſtiſe ſuch an outrage againſt the ſupreme authority of the ſtate; but the pride of power was now ſo much reduced, that this offenſive money-bill received the ſanction of the Britiſh cabinet.

The Parliament met on the 25th of November, 1779. On the day preceding which, ſeveral reſignations and new appointments took place. The Earl Gower, Lord Preſident of the Council, reſigned, and Earl Bathurſt was appointed to his poſt. Lord Weymouth reſigned his ſecretaryſhip for the ſouthern department, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of Hilliſborough; Lord Stormont, late Ambaſſador at Paris, obtained

obtained the Secretaryſhip of State for the northern department, which office had been unfilled ever ſince the death of the Earl of Suffolk, which happened in the month of March preceding. The poſt of Firſt Lord of Trade and Plantations, ever ſince the appointment of a third Secretary of State, had been united with that office, but it was now ſeparated, and beſtowed upon the Earl of Carliſle.

A few days after the opening of the ſeſſion, Earl Gower, who ſtood engaged to Parliament that relief ſhould be granted to Ireland, declared the cauſe of his reſignation to have been the diviſions that prevailed in the cabinet reſpecting the treatment of that kingdom, and one of his ſons in law*, in the Houſe of Commons, attacked Lord North on that ſcore, with ſuch uncommon aſperity of language, that he thought fit, the next day, to apologize for his warmth. The ſituation of public affairs, at length wrung from government that relief, which would never have been obtained as a largeſs. Three acts were paſſed in the courſe of the ſeſſion, by which the Iriſh were permitted to export their wool, and woollen manufactures, to import and export glaſs, and to carry on a trade of import and export to and from the Britiſh colonies in America and the coaſt of Africa, ſubject to ſuch limitations, reſtrictions and duties, as the Parliament of Ireland ſhould impoſe.

It was truly ſurpriſing to hear that very miniſter, who, when coercion towards America was reſolved upon in the cabinet, had thrown aſide, with ſo much eaſe, the numerous interceſſory petitions which were then preſented to Parliament, now plead, that he had hitherto been with-held from gratifying the wiſh of his heart, by rendering relief to Ireland, from an attention to the petitions which had been preſented from ſome parts of the kingdom againſt

* Mr. Macdonald.

any ſuch indulgence!—It will appear in the ſequel, that a like reſpectful deference to the petitions of the people, did not characterize the ſeſſion of which we are now treating.

A petition, ſigned by ſeventy-five of the principal planters, merchants, and others, intereſted in the iſland of Jamaica, was preſented to the Houſe by Mr. Pennant, member for Liverpool. It repreſented the weak ſtate of the defence on that iſland, and arraigned, in ſtrong terms of cenſure and reproach, the neglect of government, in ſuffering ſo valuable a poſſeſſion to be expoſed to the attacks of an enemy, and claimed protection as a right. The warm manner in which this affair was taken up, occaſioned ſome new raiſed troops to be ſent there ſoon after.

The attention to an œconomical expenditure of the public money, which had been ſhewn by particular members in each Houſe of Parliament, for the laſt five years particularly, not having proved effectual to the obtaining any cure for the great and growing evil of waſteful expence, a general ſpirit of diſcontent at length pervaded the nation. County meetings were held for the purpoſe of framing petitions to the Houſe of Commons, and appointing committees of correſpondence. This ſpirit of reformation ſtrongly prevailed during the Chriſtmas receſs, and aſſociations for the redreſs of grievances were formed in various parts of the kingdom. The county of York took the lead in theſe proceedings, and in the month of January, 1780, Sir George Saville preſented to the Houſe of Commons a petition ſigned by 800 freeholders: about 40 other petitions were afterwards preſented. The œconomical regulations which the French king had introduced into his houſe hold (preparatory to a more general introduction of the ſpirit of frugality into every department of the ſtate) joined to the

exigencies

exigencies of the times, had ſtirred up this diſpoſition. It is not difficult to introduce a reformation of abuſes into a ſtate, when the executive power ſtrenuouſly engages in the attempt, but nothing can be effectual to reſtrain profuſion, when the laviſh uſe of the public purſe is made the moſt ready means of ſtrengthening the hands of government. Some very able politicians have thought it a great defect in our conſtitution, that the whole of the public revenues ſhould be managed by the officers of the crown, though thoſe revenues no longer make any part of the eſtate of the crown. It was remarked by King William, that if he had a ſufficient number of places to beſtow, he ſhould be able to gain the aſcendancy over all parties. That enlarged ability to confer favours is now poſſeſſed; and in ſuch a ſtate of government, little hopes can be entertained of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtematic frugality; the attempt was however highly meritorious, and the ſeaſon moſt propitious, for the Parliament being now entered on its ſixth ſeſſion, the members of the Houſe of Commons began to recollect from whence they derived their ſeats, and the voice of the people was thereby rendered potential. To bring back the conſtitution to its firſt principles, by introducing a ſalutary reform of abuſes, was attempted by a member of the Houſe of Commons, who, in a courſe of fourteen or fifteen years, had laboured moſt aſſiduouſly and ably, although too ineffectually, in the public ſervice; for which entire ſurrender of his uncommon talents to the intereſts of the nation, he had not been gratified even with the honorary mark of general approbation. This coolneſs however no ways abated his zeal. "I was bound to ſerve Great Britain and Ireland," ſaid he, upon a particular occaſion, "to be pleaſed with my ſervices was their affair, not mine." Mr. Burke, on the 11th of February, laid before the Houſe of Commons, "a plan for the better ſecurity of the independence of Parliament, and the

œconomical

œconomical reformation of the civil and other eſtabliſhments." He ſtated the operations of this plan with reſpect to the firſt head, to be equal to the places held by fifty members of parliament, and to the latter, an income of two or three hundred thouſand pounds a year was propoſed to be ſaved, without any act of injuſtice to a ſingle individual; beſides eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of œconomy, which, he obſerved, was itſelf a great revenue. He propoſed the principality of Wales and Duchy of Lancaſter ſhould be united to the crown, for the purpoſe of aboliſhing a number of uſeleſs offices: that the landed eſtates of the crown ſhould be ſold, and thoſe poſſeſſions, unprofitable at preſent, being thereby thrown into the maſs of private property, would come, through a courſe of circulation, and through the political ſecretions of the ſtate, into our better-ordered revenues. He then proceeded to the civil liſt revenue, and propoſed various reforms in the Royal houſehold; among which were, that the officers of the Great Wardrobe, the Board of Works and of Green Cloth, ſhould be aboliſhed. That the buſineſs of the Mint ſhould be undertaken by contract, upon proper ſecurities, and under proper regulations, as on its preſent footing it was a great expence to the nation, chiefly for the ſake of members of parliament. Under other governments, he ſaid, a queſtion of expence is merely a queſtion of œconomy; with us, in every queſtion of expence there is always a mixture of conſtitutional conſiderations. He meant to limit the ſum granted in penſions to 60,000l. per annum, the whole amount of the penſions of all denominations, which had been laid before the Houſe of Commons, amounted, for a period of ſeven years, to conſiderably more than 100,000l. a year*. The office of Pay-maſter of the Land-

* It appears by Necker's *Compte rendu au Roy*, that the finances of France were annually charged with near twenty-eight millions

Land-forces, or Treaſurer of the Army, and the Treaſurer of the Navy, he meant to make mere offices of adminiſtration, by transferring the Bank, from which the great and invidious profits of thoſe offices ariſe, to the public. The great patent offices of the Exchequer he meant to reduce to fixed ſalaries, as the preſent lives and reverſions ſhould ſucceſſively fall. The office of Secretary of State for the Colonies he propoſed to aboliſh, as likewiſe the Board of Trade and Plantations, which latter eſtabliſhment, he ſaid, merely ſerved to provide eight members of parliament with a thouſand pounds a year each. He pointed out how neceſſary it was to review our military expences for ſome years paſt, and, if poſſible to bind up and cloſe that bleeding artery of profuſion.

The Houſe was greatly ſtruck with the profound reſearches and acute diſcriminations, which appeared in every part of his grand and comprehenſive plan for a national reform. The Miniſter declared, that he believed no other man in the kingdom could have inveſtigated ſo complicated and difficult a ſubject with equal ability and ſucceſs. Three days after this buſineſs had been opened, Colonel Barre propoſed that a committee of accounts ſhould be appointed, as a farther means of promoting the general plan of œconomy ſo neceſſary to the national ſecurity. This was alſo approved by the Miniſter and his friends: but ſuch appearances of concurrence were not long preſerved, for Lord North himſelf ſoon after brought in a bill which appointed a commiſſion of accounts, compoſed of ſix commiſſioners, which ſhould enquire into the paſt expendi-

millions of livres (1,226,531l. ſterling) in annuities, known under the name of penſions of various kinds and denominations. He adds, "I much queſtion, whether all the Sovereigns in Europe put together, lay out in penſions more than one half of that ſum."

ture

ture of the public money, as well as into the current accounts; and conſult, prepare, and report to the Houſe what appeared to them to be a more eaſy and ſpeedy mode of keeping thoſe accounts, and ſettling them, ſo that their true ſtate might, from time to time, as near as poſſible, be laid before the Houſe when called for. The bill expreſsly prohibited the Commiſſioners from being members of the Houſe of Commons.

On the 6th of April, when the county petitions were to be taken into conſideration by the Houſe of Commons, the buſineſs was opened by Mr. Dunning; and that the ſentiments of Parliament might be conſiſtent with thoſe of the people, he moved two propoſitions, the firſt of which was, that the influence of the crown had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed. The ſecond; that it is competent to this Houſe to examine into and correct the abuſes in the expenditure of the civil liſt revenue, whenever it ſhall ſeem expedient to the wiſdom of the Houſe ſo to do. The firſt motion was carried 233 againſt 215; the ſecond paſſed without a diviſion. The Miniſter, on this occaſion, was left in a minority, and the whole fabric of his power ſeemed to ſhake. Mr. Thomas Pitt then moved a reſolution; that it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is the duty of this Houſe, to provide as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redreſs of the abuſes complained of in the petitions preſented to the Houſe, from the different counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom. It was carried in the affirmative without any apparent diſſent. When the Houſe was reſumed, Mr. Fox moved, that the three reſolutions ſhould be immediately reported; which was agreed to, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition made by the miniſter. They were then read a firſt and ſecond time, and agreed to, without a diviſion. The Speaker being

ing ſuddenly taken ill, the Houſe was neceſſarily adjourned for ſome time, and when it was reſumed, its temper was found to be much altered. No more popular reſolutions were agreed to, and ſuch as in the firſt tranſports of zeal had been made, were rendered inefficacious, by recourſe being had to the parliamentary forms of civil diſmiſſion. Members had done enough to ſave appearances with their conſtituents, and to have done more, would have been dangerous to the eſſential intereſts of individuals. All the component parts of Mr. Burke's ſcheme, were, in their turns, finally rejected, although many of them on their firſt appearance were approved by a majority. The aboliſhing of the Board of Trade was carried; but no ſooner had government found time to rally its broken and diſcomfited forces, than the whole was loſt. This ſtate-phyſician had indeed attempted the radical cure of a diſorder, at a time, when even palliatives could be with difficulty adminiſtered. But it had never been his practice to apply palliatives. Even the unſucceſsful attempt, however, ſerved to eſtabliſh two points: viz. the actual exiſtence of very great abuſes; and that their removal could only be effected by the gracious propenſities of the Sovereign to introduce a reform. In all the important concernments of the nation, for ſome years paſt, (and no period of its hiſtory have furniſhed a greater variety) Mr. Burke had rendered himſelf conſpicuous as a patriot. When diſſention and diſſatisfaction were ſpread over the nation ſome few years before, he pointed out, in a forcible manner, the cauſe of the diſcontents which prevailed. He had laboured to ſtop the progreſs of depravity in the eaſt*, to avert the miſeries which threatened the weſt; to obtain diſtributive juſtice in Ireland, and now, a reformation of abuſes in England; every one of which attempts diſcovered the pro-

* See p. 92.

found

ſound politician and real friend to his country, yet could he not eſcape the imputation of being the partiſan of a party. To ſome he appeared dangerous, becauſe he had declared himſelf no friend to triennial Parliaments, and to others unpleaſing, becauſe he diſcovered a ſtubborn and unaccommodating virtue †; whilſt thoſe who poſſeſſed a time-ſerving flexibility of mind, were inclined to exclaim, that ſuch a man ſhould be a patriot when public virtue is out of faſhion! But neither narrowneſs, inſenſibility, ſordidneſs, nor ingratitude, could withhold from him the inward ſatisfactions reſulting from a public ſpirited conduct, and what they are have been deſcribed by a fine writer. "A life dedicated to the ſervice of our country, admits the full uſe, and no life ſhould admit the abuſe of pleaſures; the leaſt are conſiſtent with a conſtant diſcharge of our public duty, the greateſt ariſe from it. Neither Montaigne, in writing his Eſſays, nor Des Cartes, in building new worlds, nor Burnet in framing an antediluvian earth; no, nor Newton, in diſcovering and eſtabliſhing the true laws of nature on experiment and a ſublime geometry, felt more intellectual joys than he feels, who is a real patriot; who bends all the force of his underſtanding, and directs all his thoughts and actions to the good of his country."

† The late Dr. Goldſmith, whom Mr. Burke honoured with his friendſhip, in a ſportive vein of humour, drew a character of his friend, which concludes thus:——

Who too deep for his hearers, ſtill went on refining,
And thought of convincing while they thought of dining
Though equal to all things, for all things unfit;
Too nice for a ſtateſman, too proud for a wit;
For a patriot too cool; for a drudge diſobedient;
And too fond of the right to purſue the expedient.
In ſhort, 'twas his fate, unemploy'd, or in place, Sir,
To eat mutton cold, and cut blocks with a razor.

Whilſt the reformation of abuſes in the ſtate was ſo earneſtly ſought by all ranks of people throughout the kingdom, that ſome deſcribed the nation as having run mad about public virtue, as being actuated by an innovating ſpirit which formed notions of ideal perfection; as cheriſhing cauſeleſs diſcontents which inflamed to turbulence and diſſention; an unlooked for ſource of civil commotion produced the moſt alarming effects. The partial relief which had been rendered to the ſubjects of England who adhered to the Romiſh faith, had given no ſort of offence to the nation; in Ireland, the principle had been adopted with great ſucceſs, and no diſguſts were teſtified by any claſs of the people. Theſe appearances induced ſome leading men in Scotland to promiſe to uſe their intereſt in Parliament, for the purpoſe of extending the relief to that country; but the deſign was no ſooner named, than a few impetuous zealots, who were utterly unacquainted with the nature of the relief which was meant to be obtained, became alarmed at the danger to which they thought the Proteſtant church was expoſed, and made uſe of every method which a blind enthuſiaſm ſuggeſted, to inflame the people to the moſt violent reſentments. Every active principle was employed in this cauſe, whilſt no effectual means were uſed to counteract theſe deſigns, by repreſenting to the people at large, how groundleſs their apprehenſions were, and that nothing more was meant to be done than to repeal an unjuſt law, which, by a ſtrange concurrence of circumſtances, had become a law contrary to the intentions even of its firſt framers, and that a great number of penal ſtatutes againſt Roman Catholics, would ſtill remain in full force. It is highly becoming the leading and enlightened part of mankind, to make uſe of every means which argument, intermixed with good-humoured pleaſantry, can ſupply, to remove any falſe notions which are likely to

prevail

prevail to the diſturbance of the public tranquillity: and of all miſtakes, thoſe which ariſe from a conſcientious attachment to religious principles, deſerve the moſt aſſiduous endeavours to be uſed in correcting and confuting. The outrages which were committed in Edinburgh and Glaſgow, early in the year 1779, on the houſes and property of the Roman Catholics, in conſequence of the popular reſentments having been excited againſt them, by a variety of inflammatory pamphlets, which had been induſtriouſly circulated, would never have happened, if any portion of zeal had operated to the producing, and ſpreading widely, of well-written tracts, to diſprove the aſſertions which had been ſo roundly and falſely made. But the weapons of reaſon are leſs frequently reſorted to, for the purpoſe of ſuppreſſing a popular infatuation, than thoſe forcible weapons with which the ſtate is armed, and the progreſſion of diſcontent is ſeldom attended to, until the conſequences of its maturity are felt.

From Scotland, this ſpirit of bitter enmity againſt the Catholics paſſed into England, and cauſed a ſociety to be formed under the title of "The Proteſtant Aſſociation," which was compoſed of well-meaning but uninformed people, whoſe fears were excited, becauſe they conſidered the principles of popery as increaſing to an alarming pitch in this country, and that the deſign of the legiſlature was to patroniſe that religion. The averſion which Britiſh Proteſtants diſcover to Roman Catholics, is uncommonly inveterate; it ſeems almoſt to have ſurvived their religious principles. The Dutch, although they revolted from Spain, becauſe they were cruelly perſecuted as Proteſtants, yet were ſo far from bearing an implacable enmity to the Romaniſts, that they allowed a general toleration; and the Roman Catholics to this day, are conſpicuous in thoſe ſtates, both for the largeneſs of their numbers and the

peaceableneſs of their demeanor. The Swiſs Cantons know no diſſentions, becauſe ſome are of the Romiſh perſuaſion and others Calviniſtical Proteſtants. But the attempts which have been made in England, ſince the Reformation was introduced into it, to render the religion of the Church of Rome the national religion, and to exterminate or depreſs the reformed church, had eſtabliſhed an hereditary antipathy which is not yet extinct, inſomuch that the peaceable conduct of this body of men for eighty or ninety years, has not been ſufficient to expiate the miſdeeds of a former race. It therefore became the indiſpenſable duty of every man of influence to oppoſe to this popular prejudice the force of truth; but whilſt a general ſupineneſs prevailed concerning the principles and conduct of this ſociety, it increaſed in numbers and in zeal, under the influence of a preſident, whoſe violent and daring ſpirit qualified him for creating and leading a faction. This young nobleman is deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and honourable families in Scotland, ſo that he might lay claim to popularity as a birth-right, whilſt a peculiar caſt of character, which marked his whole deportment, drew the public attention; his ſingularities paſſed for marks of geniur, and his dreſs and appearance, which ſeemed to have been copied from the age of puritaniſm, impreſſed the ſuperficial multitude with a notion of the ſanctity of his manners; although under this diſguiſe, his private life was not conſpicuous for a correſponding auſterity *. Through the influence of this reformer, a petition to the Houſe of Commons was drawn up, in the name of the ſo-

* Mr. Wilkes very aptly applied to this zealot, a trait of the character given of Fleetwood Shepherd, in a Latin epitaph: ——"Nulla meretrix diſplicuit præter Babylonicam." *See the Epitaph in the Gentleman's Magazine for* 1778.

ciety,

ciety, praying the repeal of the act for the relief of Roman Catholics, which was ſigned by vaſt numbers; to attend the delivery of which, all true Proteſtants were invited by hand-bills and advertiſements in the news-papers, to aſſemble in St. George's Fields, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves by wearing blue cockades in their hats; their champion, who was a member of the Houſe, having declared that he would not deliver their petition, unleſs he was attended by twenty thouſand men, and a number not ſhort of that were actually got together. Although it was not the intention of government to grant the prayer of the petition, yet it either did not apprehend, or did not chooſe to provide againſt, any conſequences which might ariſe from the aſſembling of ſuch a concourſe of people. The behaviour of Lord George Gordon, the popular leader of this multitude, which now beſet the Houſe of Commons, and occupied every avenue to its entrance, tended greatly to exaſperate and inflame his followers. Many of the Lords received perſonal affronts and injuries in their way to the Houſe of Peers, and in the evening, the Romiſh chapels belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian Ambaſſadors, were demoliſhed and ſet on fire, although no proper objects of their reſentment, becauſe the obnoxious act of parliament no ways affected them. The mounds of law and order being thus broken down, the dwelling-houſes of the Roman Catholics in different parts of the town were diſmantled, the furniture piled up in the ſtreet and burnt, whilſt the dwellings were ſet on fire. The civil power was unable to prevent theſe outrages, and the few military which could be drawn out, acting under the command of the magiſtrates, were not effectually employed to ſuppreſs them. A wealthy and luxurious metropolis muſt harbour a number of deſperate wretches, who are only awed by the ſcourge of the law which is held over them: ſuch would not fail to

avail

avail themſelves of the ſuſpenſion of legal authority, to commit the moſt atrocious crimes. Theſe being now collected, levelled their attacks againſt the places which they had moſt reaſon to dread, and the different jails were forced open, the priſoners ſet at liberty, and every thing conſumed which was ſuſceptible of the action of fire. The dwelling-houſes of ſeveral Juſtices of Peace ſuffered the ſame fate, and as all authority and controul was borne down, no limits could be ſet to the devaſtations which might follow. The deſtruction of the Bank of England was openly threatened, and the fate of the empire ſeemed to depend upon the torches of a ruthleſs banditti. At length, however, that vengeance which had ſo long lingered, overtook them: large bodies of troops had arrived, and on the night of the 7th of June, the dreadful expedient of military execution was reſorted to, as the only means of ſaving the capital from deſtruction. The horrors of that night are not to be deſcribed; between four or five hundred perſons were killed or wounded; and though notices were delivered at every houſe, cautioning the inhabitants not to quit their dwellings, yet many innocent and reſpectable people ſuffered from random bullets in paſſing the ſtreets.

Soon after the ſuppreſſion of theſe tumults, Lord George Gordon was taken into cuſtody, examined before ſeveral lords of the privy council, and committed to the Tower *.

This ſtate of anarchy ſuſpended the ſitting of parliament until the 19th of June, and the next day reſolutions were agreed to, which tended to explain the

* He was tried in the Court of King's-Bench, Weſtminſter-hall, on the 5th of February, 1781, on an indictment for High Treaſon, in levying war againſt the King, and found by the Jury, not guilty.

nature

nature of the act of parliament, the attempt to procure the repeal of which had eventually caused so much terror to the people, and brought the whole kingdom into such imminent peril. It is much to be lamented, that no such method for removing the apprehensions of the well-meaning, but ill-informed, had been taken sooner. An end was put to the session on the 8th day of July.

A general torpor succeeded this violent concussion: the nation was no longer inspired with the desire of obtaining redress of the grievances which it saw and felt. In consequence of the tumults in London, the whole kingdom was put under the discretion of a military force; the power of the crown therefore gained such an ascendency, that the spirit of liberty gradually melted away, insomuch that the county associations were some time after described, by a member of the House of Commons *, as no better than a rope of sand. Every thing seemed tending to what Mr. Hume calls the easiest death, the true *Euthanasia* of the British constitution, absolute monarchy.

The supplies for the service of the year 1780 amounted to 21,196,496l †. The number of seamen employed

* Mr. Rigby.

† N A V Y.

85,000 seamen, including 18,779 marines	4,420,000	
Ordinary of the navy - -	385,381	
Building, rebuilding, and repairing of ships	697,903	
Towards discharging the navy-debt - -	1,500,000	
		7,003,284

A R M Y.

35,500 effective men, including 4,213 invalids, staff and reduced officers, and allowance to private gentlemen - - -	1,074,565	

New

employed was eighty-five thouſand, including marines, and thirty-five thouſand Britiſh troops, including invalids. No more than a million and half of the navy-debt was diſcharged, although that

New levies for 1780 - - -		258,207
Charges on new levies from their commencement to the end of 1779 - -		30,297
Corps of Lieut. Col. Fullerton and Humberſtone, 8,623l. each; Major-General Rainsford's regiment, 12,922l. additional pay to Lieut. Col. Holroyd's - -	33,356	
Out-penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital -	87,718	
Maintaining forces and garriſons -	1,418,059	
Five Hanoverian regiments of foot at Gibraltar and Minorca - - -	56,228	
		2,958,430
Militia in England, and fencible men in Scotland, cloathing, additional companies, and deficiencies in 1779 - - -		771,233
Foreign troops ſerving in America, with the ſubſidies - - - -	571,487	
Proviſions for ditto - - -	48,801	
Artillery for ditto - - -	27,741	
		648,029
Unprovided ordnance for 1779 - -	591,466	
——— ordnance for 1780 - -	458,136	
		1,049,602
Extraordinaries of the army - -		2,418,805

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

To William Smith, M. D. for nearly four years attendance upon ſick and diſeaſed priſoners, and furniſhing medicines -	1,200	
To the Levant company - - -	10,000	
Roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland - - - -	6,997	
To the Truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum -	3,500	

Sums

that pernicious uſe of credit had cauſed a vaſt ſum to be engaged for; the extraordinaay expences of the army amounted to 2,418,805l. The new taxes which had been levied the two preceding years, to pay the intereſt upon the money borrowed, were found to have produced in a very inadequate degree, to the payment of the ſums for which they were appropriated; recourſe was therefore had to that collateral ſecurity, the ſinking fund, to make good this failure. Indeed, new taxes conſtantly prove deficient the firſt year, even if they are found to be as productive as the miniſter had eſtimated them to be, becauſe the loan bears intereſt from the beginning of January, and the taxes do not commence till midſummer.

To

Sums iſſued in purſuance of addreſſes from the Commons to his Majeſty -		15,700
Confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the Thames - -		14,348
To American refugees - -		57,910
General ſurveys in North America -		1,832
Civil eſtabliſhments in the iſland of St. John's; the Colonies of Nova Scotia, Georgia, Eaſt and Weſt Florida -		18,662
Forts and ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa		13,000
Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerſet Houſe - - -		25,000
		168,149
The vote of credit, Exchequer bills, and prizes in Lottery of laſt year diſcharged -		4,890,000
D E F I C I E N C I E S.		
In the fund for 1758 - -	37,373	
——————for 1778 - -	499,892	
In grants for 1779 - -	300,687	
Land, 250,000l. malt, 200,000l. -	450,000	
		1,287,952

To provide for theſe expences, beſides the uſualreſources of land and malt, Exchequer bills were renewed to the ſame amount as the former year, the ſinking fund was to provide two millions and a half; twelve millions were borrowed upon annuities, and 480,000l. raiſed by a Lottery *. The annuity to bear four per cent. intereſt, and a farther annuity of 1l. 16s. 3d. for every 100l. for the term of eight years; the ſubſcribers to be entitled to four Lottery tickets for every 1000l. ſubſcribed, on payment of 10l. for each ticket. The whole produce of the Lottery was to be diſtributed into prizes. The annual intereſt upon the loan amounted to 696,150l. which was provided for by additional duties of ſix-pence per buſhel upon malt; one penny per gallon on low wines; three-pence upon ſpirits; one ſhilling upon brandy and rum; four pounds per ton upon Portugal wines; and eight pounds per ton upon French wines. A duty of four ſhillings was laid upon coals exported per Newcaſtle chaldron. An additional duty upon ſalt of one ſhilling and ten-pence per buſhel. A ſtampt duty upon the receipt of legacies, proportionable to the amount, as far as 100l. and upwards. Dealers in tea, coffee and chocolate, were required to pay five ſhillings annually for a licence to carry on their trade; an additional duty of ſix-pence was alſo laid on all

* WAYS AND MEANS

Land - - - -		2,000,000
Malt - - - - -		750,000
Annuities on Lottery - - -		12,480,000
Sinking fund to 5th of April -	650,568	2,500,000
Growing produce of ditto -	1,849,542	
Exchequer bills - -		3,400,000
Various duties, ſavings and ſurpluſſes -		198,948
Reſerved ſums in the hands of the pay-maſter of the forces - - -		48,300
Grant in the 5th of the preſent reign for building a Lazaret - - -		5,000

advertiſe-

advertiſements in news-papers. This laſt impoſt affected an article from whence government drew an amazing revenue, and which yielded no proportional income to the ſubject *.

A vote of credit for a million was paſſed in addition to theſe ſupplies.

The ſcenes of confuſion and devaſtation which we have juſt now deſcribed, fatally indicated the depravity of the lower claſſes of the people, and ſhewed that their propenſities were rather to ſubvert than to reform; turning from theſe, let us purſue the operations of the war. The growing maritime greatneſs of France created no jealouſy in the other kingdoms of Europe; and as the northern powers derived great advantages, by furniſhing the materials for this riſing navy, which it was ſo much the intereſt of Great Britain to prevent being con-

* The author has been convinced by the calculation of a very intelligent printer, and the fact is demonſtrable in a moment, that government do not draw a leſs revenue from one particular morning paper, by the duties upon advertiſements and ſtamps, than fourteen thouſand pounds per annum, and upwards, a ſum, of which the profit which the concern yields to the proprietors, is not a tithe part. But even this is not the whole revenue, for there is likewiſe a heavy duty paid upon paper. There are many country news papers which are publiſhed only once a week, and carried on by country printers, merely on account of the advantages which they derive by printing them, as they ſpread their names through the diſtricts where they dwell, and procure them thereby orders in their different branches of buſineſs, but yield them no profit as proprietors; on the contrary, are rather attended with loſs, which is frequently the caſe; even a concern ſo unimportant as one of theſe papers to the party who conducts it, pays a revenue to government of at leaſt three hundred pounds per annum, excluſive of the duty upon paper! So aſtoniſhing are the receipts at the Exchequer ariſing from that rage for news paper reading which prevails in all ranks and conditions!

veyed

veyed into her enemy's ports, a confederacy was entered into by Ruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden, by which they agreed to fit out ſhips of force, to protect their merchantmen, in carrying ſuch kind of freight, as had generally been conſidered contraband by belligerent powers. This alliance was firſt propoſed by the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and received that ſpecific form in which it afterwards appeared, in conſequence of the ſuggeſtions thrown out by the court of Stockholm. The Ruſſian power at ſea had acquired all its conſequence, from the aſſiſtance which it had received from the ſuperintendence of an Engliſh Admiral, and the exertions of Engliſh artificers and officers; but preſent intereſt among princes, is never ſacrificed to a remembrance of former obligations. The conduct of France had of late been highly pleaſing to the court of Peterſburgh: through the mediation of that kingdom, an impending war between Ruſſia and the Porte had been averted.

The armed neutrality could not fail of being agreeable to France and Spain; and in the anſwer given to the declaration of the Empreſs, each court expreſſed its approbation, whilſt Great Britain, in her anſwer, profeſſed to adhere to the law of nations, and the tenour of the engagements ſtipulated in a ſubſiſting treaty of commerce. The Dutch, who enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of this carrying trade, not having acceded to the confederacy, were more narrowly watched by the Britiſh ſhips, and were not permitted to tranſport any articles of naval ſtores to the ports of France and Spain. Such ſhips, whenever they were met, were carried into an Engliſh port, their cargoes unloaded, and the price of them paid by government, after which the ſhip was permitted to depart. Much artifice and colluſion was practiſed in many of theſe tranſactions; for the cargoes, being frequently brought to a better market,

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they may be ſuppoſed not ſeldom to have been ſhipped for the purpoſe of being taken. The republic of Holland loudly complained of this conduct, as a breach of the law of nations, particularly when the greateſt part of a large fleet was brought into Portſmouth by Capt. Fielding, a powerful ſquadron being aſſigned him for that purpoſe, but no real injury was at any time ſuſtained.

In the month of January, 1780, a fleet, conſiſting of 21 ſhips of the line, under the command of Sir George Rodney, proceeded to the relief of Gibraltar. This fortunate commander had not been many days at ſea, before he fell in with 15 ſail of Spaniſh ſhips, laden with naval ſtores and proviſions, from St. Sebaſtian, (the moſt north eaſtern port of Spain, in the Bay of Biſcay) bound to Cadiz, which were eſcorted by a Spaniſh man of war of 64 guns, and five frigates, all of which were taken. Eight days after *, upon doubling Cape St. Vincent, a Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of 11 ſail of the line, under the command of Don Juan de Langara was deſcried, which he immediately bore down upon, keeping nearer to the ſhore than the enemy, to prevent their eſcaping into any port; which by the direction in which the wind then blew, was, in the marine phraſe, keeping the lee-gage. The engagement began about four o'clock in the afternoon, and after it had continued near 40 minutes, one of the Spaniſh ſhips of 70 guns blew up, and 600 men, who were on board her, periſhed. Soon after which the battle was changed to a flight on the part of the Spaniards. During the night, which immediately came on, the Britiſh ſhips purſued the enemy through a great ſea, the weather proving tempeſtuous, and the next morning the fleet had

* January 16, 1780.

approached

aproached towards the ſhoals of St. Lucar. Four Spaniſh men of war were carried into Gibraltar, among which was the Admiral's ſhip: two other ſhips were taken, but being afterwards driven on ſhore, the one was loſt, and the other reſcued. This ſignal ſucceſs was obtained by the loſs of only 32 men killed, and 102 wounded. The vanquiſhed fleet conſiſted of 14 ſail, but three ſhips had been ſeparated from the reſt juſt before the engagement. The ſcene of this memorable action was the very ſame as that on which Boſcawen effected the deſtruction of De la Clue's ſquadron in the laſt war, only the purſuit was made in oppoſite directions. Boſcawen completed his triumph on the coaſt where Rodney began.

Gibraltar being now furniſhed with the neceſſary ſupplies, the garriſon reinforced with a new raiſed regiment, and ſome veſſels diſpatched to Port Mahon, Sir George Rodney ſailed for the Weſt Indies with a part of the fleet; the reſt, with the Spaniſh prizes, returned to England, under the command of Admiral Digby, who, in his way, captured a French man of war of 64 guns, which was one of a convoy to a fleet of tranſports deſtined for the iſland of Mauritius.

The death of Sir Charles Hardy, which happened in May 1780, cauſed the fleet for the channel ſervice to be put under the command of Admiral Geary, who ſailed to the weſtward the beginning of June; but as no junction was formed of the French and Spaniſh fleets, no enemy appeared to diſpute the ſovereignty of the ocean. In July he fell in with a large homeward bound fleet of French merchantmen from Port-au-Prince, and captured twelve ſail of them; but returning into port a month after,

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he quitted the command, and was ſucceeded by Admiral Darby.

Commodore Johnſtone, with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, was ſtationed this ſummer off the coaſt of Portugal, where ſeveral French ſhips of force, and ſome rich Spaniſh veſſels were captured. This gentleman had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Commons, and was no leſs conſpicuous as one of the commiſſioners, who went out to offer terms of peace to America; as a naval commander he ſhewed great vigilance and addreſs.

Hitherto the foreign events which had turned up in the courſe of the year had proved remarkably fortunate for the intereſt of this country; inſomuch as to have reſcued it from that danger of immediate ruin which ſeemed to threaten it; but in abatement to this tide of ſucceſs, the Spaniſh fleet, commanded by Don Louis de Cordova, took five of our Eaſt-India ſhips outward bound, and a conſiderable number of merchantmen, on their voyage to the Weſt-Indies. However, the conſequences attending this loſs, were by no means ſo ſeverely felt by the nation, as the capture of an equal number of ſhips, homeward-bound, would have been; for being principally freighted with the manufactures of the country, it ſerved to furniſh additional employment for the laborious part of the community, at the expence of the wealthy.

The conduct which had been purſued by Spain in the Weſt-Indies, plainly proves the long-concerted plan which had been formed of breaking with Great-Britain; for war was declared at Porto Rico, a few days after the delivery of the reſcript in London. Such a conduct, a Spaniſh Manifeſto had warmly reprobated on the part of Great-Britain

Britain towards France in the Eaſt-Indies, and the ſame paper had predicted, that ſimilar proceedings had been ſecretly determined upon againſt the poſſeſſions of Spain at the Manillas, but in theſe apprehenſions time has proved the court of Spain to have been miſtaken.

The principal object with the Spaniards, was, to recover the Floridas; but whilſt a force was collecting for this purpoſe by Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spaniſh Governor of Louiſiana, a ſmall force was ſent from Jamaica, againſt Omoa, Spaniſh ſettlement on the Muſquito ſhore, which was ſoon taken, to the great annoyance of the enemy; but the unhealthineſs of the place cauſed it to become the grave of the brave men who ſubdued it. Admiral Hyde Parker, on the Leeward iſland ſtation, took and deſtroyed a large number of veſſels on the coaſt of Martinico, which had ſailed from France for the ſupply of that iſland. Several French frigates were likewiſe taken. Admiral Rodney thrice engaged the French fleet in the Weſt-Indies, commanded by M. de Guichen*, without any deciſive conſequences; although the palm of victory was juſtly claimed by the Engliſh Admiral, notwithſtanding his force was conſiderably inferior, and in the firſt action, he was badly ſeconded by many ſhips in his fleet. The Hon. Capt. St. John, of the Intrepid, and three of his Lieutenants, were killed. The dreadful hurricanes which ſpread deſolation over many parts of the Weſt-India iſlands ſome time after, proved fatal to the ſhips of both nations in thoſe ſeas.

The operations of this campaign in America were carried on to the ſouthward by Sir Henry Clinton in perſon, who, in order to provide a ſufficient force for an expedition againſt Charleſtown, found it ne-

* April 17, May 15 and 19, 1780.

ceſſary

ceſſary to evacuate Rhode Iſland, although a poſſeſſion of great importance on account of its valuable haven; a voluntary ſurrender of it, therefore, furniſhed a melancholy proof of the diſparity of the force employed in this war to the objects ſought. The French immediately took poſſeſſion of a place which they had in vain attempted to ſubdue. Charleſtown ſurrendered on the 13th of May, 1780, ſoon after which Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, and Earl Cornwallis became Commander in Chief in South Carolina, who three months after, found himſelf likely to be diſpoſſeſſed of the whole province, the capital excepted, by General Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, who commanded a conſiderable army of Americans. In this extremity the Britiſh General engaged and defeated an enemy almoſt five times his numbers at Camden; but even this noble atchievement was not ſufficient to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of that province to the cauſe for which they fought: they remained unſubdued, and upon every occaſion which offered, this inveteracy appeared in hoſtile acts. During the whole of the campaign, Lieutenant Colonel Tarlton highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a variety of rencounters.

Many were the actions at ſea between the ſhips of England and France, in which the ſuperiority of Britiſh ſeamanſhip and courage appeared uniformly and conſpicuouſly; which, whilſt it ſeemed to warrant the claim of theſe iſlands to the ſovereignty of the ocean, ſerved to encourage the hope that the preſent ſharp and doubtful conteſt would iſſue in the full eſtabliſhment of their claim.

CHAP. V.

Rupture with the United States—Proceedings in Parliament—Operations at Sea—In the Weſt-Indies—On the American Continent.

THE nation was now greatly relieved from thoſe portents, which had affected not only its welfare, but its very being. The menaced invaſion from France was no longer thought of, nor is it likely that it was ever ſeriouſly intended. The people were again at leiſure to attend to the conduct which parliament would purſue when it ſhould be aſſembled. It was for the legiſlative body to decide in the conteſt between government and the people, and the intereſts of the latter were likely to be regarded by a Houſe of Commons, which was in the immediate view of reſigning its delegated functions. As it was not the intention of government to gratify the people, it became neceſſary to provide the means of defeating their applications, for which purpoſe the parliament was ſuddenly diſſolved, and a new one ſummoned to meet on the 31ſt of October, 1780.

The terms on which this country ſtood with the Dutch had long been latently inimical. The reſtraints which their carrying trade had been laid under in the laſt war, at which they murmured, but which they dared not reſent, had not been carried to the ſame ſeverities in the preſent ſtate of hoſtilities. The partiality which that republic, particularly the province of Amſterdam, ſhewed to the intereſts of France as well as to thoſe of America, were ſeen with great diſſatisfaction by the court of London. Many attempts had been made by American

rican agents to negociate a loan in Holland, which had not proved ſucceſsful, but the outlines of a commercial treaty had been ſecretly adjuſted in September 1778, at Aix la Chapelle, by the orders and inſtructions of M. Van Berkel, counſellor and penſionary of the city of Amſterdam, with a commiſſioner on the part of the Congreſs. The aſſiſtance which the Dutch might be brought to render to America, either in an open or private manner, if a reſpectable perſonage, properly empowered by Congreſs, ſhould reſide at Amſterdam, induced Mr. Laurens, the Preſident of that Congreſs, to undertake to tranſact the concerns of America with that republic; but on his voyage, the ſhip in which he ſailed was captured by an Engliſh frigate, and the American Preſident being brought to London, was committed to the Tower. All his papers, which he had committed to the ſea as ſoon as his fate was aſcertained, happening to be recovered, were expoſed to the inſpection of the Britiſh cabinet. The diſcoveries which they made, determined the court of London no longer to keep any terms with the United States, and on the 20th of December, 1780, a royal manifeſto was publiſhed which amounted to a declaration of war, and letters of marque and repriſal were ſoon after iſſued. This conduct, certainly implied, that the open enmity of the Dutch was leſs to be dreaded than their occult diſſervices. Farther, by this declaration of hoſtilities, the republic was rendered incapable of acceding to the armed neutrality, by which the northern powers would have become in a manner guarantees for its protection and ſecurity. For a kingdom already overwhelmed with foes, to denounce war againſt another ſtate, appeared to be a meaſure ſo ſingularly bold and big with danger, that it could only be juſtified by the plea of ſtate-neceſſity which had been urged on a variety of occaſions, and im-

 plicitly

plicitly admitted. To qualify this meaſure it muſt be obſerved, that ſuch a radical defect had long prevailed in the government and genius of the Dutch, that the maritime force poſſeſſed by that republic ſeems to have ſunk in a like proportion to the advancement of the ſtrength of this country. A well informed politician *, ſeveral years ago, pronounced the Dutch commonwealth to be "in a ſtate of diſſolution; and not to have, either without or within herſelf, thoſe means of recovery, by conjunctures and by character, that ſhe has had on ſeveral occaſions, from the time her government was firſt formed."

When the new Parliament aſſembled, after the Chriſtmas receſs, Mr. Burke attempted again to introduce his plan of œconomy, but with worſe ſucceſs than the preceding ſeſſion. In the courſe of his ſpeech upon this occaſion, he aſſerted, that the King of France had aboliſhed 606 uſeleſs offices, by which reduction he had provided himſelf with the means for carrying on the war, without laying a ſingle additional tax upon the people.

The French miniſter of finance had delivered to the King his maſter, about that time, an ample detail of the reformations he had introduced, and pointed out a variety of means by which the ſtate might be eſſentially benefited in future. It was a new thing in France, for a full, clear, and explicit ſtate of the finances to be laid before the people, and it may aſtoniſh an Engliſh to hear the French miniſter declare, "that the public Bank of France has never been in advance on account of government; but the royal treaſury has conſtantly a capital in bank of ſome millions (of livres). This bank, therefore, has not been of any direct utility to the royal treaſury, and the intereſt of government in the ſucceſs of its eſtabliſhment, has been no other than the

* Lord Bolingbroke.

proſperity

proſperity of commerce, the moderating the intereſt of money, and giving a greater activity to circulation."—Such probaly will never be the ſtate of affairs in this country. The Exchequer is never likely to become " the great ſpring of public credit, and the great ſcene of all tranſactions relative to public receipts and payments." The monied intereſt commands even government itſelf; the public, like an extravagant ſpendthrift, being obliged to deal with uſurers on their own terms, although the landed men are the true owners of the political veſſel, the monied men, as ſuch, are no more than paſſengers in it.

Sir George Saville preſented a petition, ſigned by thirty-two freeholders of the confederated counties, known by the name of Delegates, which was rejected, on the ground that a petition ſigned by thirty-two perſons on ſuch a national concern, carried no apparent weight or importance, and the idea of thoſe gentlemen being delegated by ſeveral counties in England, could not be admitted, becauſe the conſtitution knows no ſuch body of men as county delegates, except thoſe within the walls of the Houſe of Commons.—So different is the language uſed at the commencement and towards the cloſe of a Parliament!

In this ſtruggle between government and the people, it may be remarked, that the principles on which the party diſtinctions of Whig and Tory had been founded, ſeem to have been loſt, and thoſe who ſtill choſe to be known by ſuch names, had apparently changed ſides; for, if, as a learned Metropolitan obſerved in the Houſe of Lords, the conduct of the Whigs was not whigiſm, but whigiſm run mad, a like phrenſy may be ſaid to have ſeized the Tories. The principles of toryiſm ninety years ago, and from thence down to the preſent reign, were utterly repugnant to a corrupt influence

of

of the Crown in the two Houſes of Parliament. If it be ſaid, that the body of the Whigs are now as clamorous againſt the power of Parliament, as they were formerly againſt the power of the crown, and that the Tories are as yielding to the increaſe of influence which the crown has acquired, as they were formerly to the claims of prerogative, it may be anſwered, that ſtill the political principles to which each are attached, are very different from thoſe which divided their forefathers. The Whigs, when they ſupported the power of Parliament, meant to form a barrier againſt the encroachments of regal power, and every Tory will ſurely admit, that the influence of the crown is very different from the power of the crown. The diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of each party, are, at length, loſt in the changes incidental to human affairs, and one grand and important national object now ought to engage the public attention. It is indeed high time that all party names ſhould be done away; they ſerve only to narrow and degrade the ſentiments and views of mankind, and the times render it neceſſary that the new diſtinctions ſhould take place, not as badges of petulance and ill-will, or of ſuch a nature as that the virtuous, the good, and the wiſe, may arrange themſelves under either, as education, prejudices, and family attachment influence them, but ſuch diſtinctions as muſt in their very nature diſcriminate between the lover of his country, and the betrayer of it. The nation, at this time, ought to be divided into thoſe who claim from their repreſentatives, and from the legiſlation in general, a provident expenditure of the public money, and a ſincere, ſtrenuous and judicious attention to introduce an univerſal ſyſtem of œconomy, and thoſe ſelf-intereſted and rapacious harpies, who become important by the ſpoils of their country.

The

The public ſervice of the year 1781 called for 22,451,337l. * to provide for which, the ordinary means,

* N A V Y.

90,000 ſeamen, including 20,317 marines - -	4,680,000	
Ordinary of the navy -	380,261	
Building, rebuilding, and repairing ſhips	670,016	
Towards diſcharging the navy debt	1,500,000	
		7,236,227

A R M Y.

30,666, including 4213 invalids, ſtaff and reduced officers, allowance to private gentlemen - -	1,172,357	
Charge of 80 independent compauies of foot - -	117,608	
Deficiency on the ſums to defray the pay of two battalions of Lord John Murray's regiment for 1780 -	1,108	
Out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital -	91,604	
Maintaining forces and garriſons, &c.	1,488,927	
Five Hanoverian battalions -	56,075	
		2,827,979
Militia in England, and fencible men in Scotland, cloathing, and additional companies and deficiencies in 1780	786,600	
Foreign troops ſerving in America	581,985	
Proviſions for ditto - -	49,373	
Artillery for ditto - -	27,684	
		659,042
Unprovided ordnance for 1780 -	447,182	1,282,211
——————ordnance for 1781 -	835,929	
Extraordinaries for the army -	3,443,218	

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

To William Smith, M. D. for attending priſoners and furniſhing medicines -	1,200	
To the Levant company -	800	
Roads and bridges in Scotland -	4,995	

Sums

means, and ſome extraordinary helps derived from the two great companies of the Eaſt India Merchants and Bank of England, twelve millions were borrowed; and in this tranſaction the miniſter adopted a new plan of conduct: in order to leſſen the immediate weight of intereſt he added

Sums iſſued in purſuance of addreſſes from the Commons to his Majeſty -	22,222	
Convicts on the Thames -	15,488	
American refugees - -	57,910	
General ſurveys in North America	207	
Civil eſtabliſhments in America -	19,985	
Forts and ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa - - - -	13,000	
Towards carrying on the building of Somerſet-houſe - -	36,207	
To the ſufferers at Barbadoes, 80,000l. at Jamaica, 40,000l. - -	120,000	
To purchaſe lands for ſecuring the dock-yards and ſtores at Chatham, Plymouth, and Sheerneſs, and for the better defending the paſſage of the river Thames at Graveſend and Tilbury fort - - -	34,273	
To rebuilding Newgate, the King's-bench and Fleet priſons -	35,000	
To ſuch ſufferers by the riots in June 1780, who loſt to the value of 100l. or leſs	3,200	
		245,687
The vote of credit, Exchequer-bills, and prizes in Lottery of laſt year diſcharged		4,880,000

DEFICIENCIES.

In the fund for 1758 - -	31,000	
Ditto 1778 -	191,664	
Ditto 1779 - -	193,663	
Deficiency of grants for 1780 -	8,551	
Land-tax and malt - -	422,745	
		1,097,623

WAYS

added a vaſt load to the funded debt. It ſeemed as if the continuance of the war ſerved only to increaſe the ability of the nation to maintain it; two years before, eight millions could not be procured, now offers were made of three times the ſums wanted. The ſubſcribers to this loan for every hundred pounds contributed obtained 150*l.* in annuities, after the rate of 3 *per cent per annum*, and an additional annuity of 25*l.* at 4 *per cent. per annum*, which rate of intereſt was to be continued until the annuity ſhould be redeemed; ſo that this year added 18 millions to the 3 *per cent.* ſtocks, and 3 millions to the 4 *per cent.* which new created funds, for the ſervice of a ſingle year, greatly exceeded the ſum which the miniſter, nine years before, had flattered the nation with the hopes of paying off in the courſe of ten years*. 480,000*l.* were raiſed by a lottery, the tickets in which were diſtributed among the ſubſcribers, in the proportion of four tickers for every thouſand pounds ſubſcribed.

WARS AND MEANS.

Land - - - -		2,000,000
Malt - - - -		750,000
Annuities and Lottery - -		12,480,000
Sinking fund to Jan. 5, 1781 - -	288,347	
Ditto to the 5th of April - -	757,087	
Growing produce of ditto - -	1,854,566	
		2,900,000
Exchequer bills - - -		3,400,000
Various duties, ſurpluſſes and ſavings		262,917
Arrears from the Eaſt-India Company		400,000
The Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for a renewal of their charter; lent for three years, at 3 per cent. per annum - -		2,000,000

* See page 75.

The

The intereſt upon this loan amounted to 660,000*l.* The facility with which a proviſion was made for raiſing this heavy annual demand is really aſtoniſhing. An additional of 5 *per cent.* was laid upon all duties paid to the exciſe, except on the produce of the duties on malt, beer, ſoap, candles and leather. All diſcounts or abatements in the cuſtoms were aboliſhed. The time allowed to the Eaſt India Company, for the payment of the duties upon the merchandize ſold at their ſales, was reduced from nine to three months from the termination of each ſale. An additional duty of one penny three farthings per pound weight was laid upon tobacco imported, and four ſhillings and eight-pence per hundred weight upon all ſugars imported into Great Britain. Several regulations were made in the duty upon paper, and an additional ſtamp was laid upon ſheet Almanacks; from the produce of which ſtamp duty 500*l.* per annum was granted to the Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, in lieu of a ſum formerly paid to them by the Stationer's Company for the privilege of printing Almanacks. The ſinking fund now received an annual augmentation of 190,000*l.* which accrued to it by ſome of the 4 *per cent.* funds being reduced to 3 *per cent.* (agreeable to the terms on which the debt had been contracted) and the falling in of ſome life annuities. Lord North ſtated the produce of that fund, with this increaſe, to have riſen to upwards of three millions. The ſums which were expected to be brought into the Exchequer, in conſequence of the ſcrutiny made by the Commiſſioners of Accounts (nothing had yet been produced to the public by theſe enquiries) Lord North propoſed to apply to the reduction of the navy debt, which had grown to an enormous magnitude. A vote of credit for a million completed the buſineſs of finance.

finance. The ſeſſion was not ended until the 18th of July.

The ſudden and unexpected commencement of hoſtilities againſt the Dutch cauſed their valuable commerce to become a prey to Britiſh ſhips, and a large number of their ſeamen to be detain captives in England. In the Weſt Indies, the iſland of St. Euſtatius, which, during the war, had been a moſt beneficial mart of traffic, both for the French and Americans, was reduced by Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan. The iſland, although highly important to the Dutch in a commercial view, is no more than a barren rock, incapable of providing defence or ſubſiſtence for its inhabitants. The city of Amſterdam was chiefly concerned in this trade, but many Engliſh merchants were alſo largely embarked in it, as well as in the carrying trade. Our whole force in the Weſt Indies was brought againſt this ſpot, ſo that the governor, unable to make any defence, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The Britiſh commander dealt the full meaſure of puniſhment to all upon the iſland with an implacable ſeverity; private property was ſeized without mercy, and the vindictive ſpirit which dictated the orders and their execution, ſcarcely left the miſerable reſidents, particularly the Jews, the means of ſubſiſtence; they were deprived of their very proviſions. A Dutch fleet of merchant ſhips conſiſting of 30 veſſels, and a 64 gun ſhip which convoyed them, and had juſt ſailed, were purſued, and the whole taken; but the greateſt part of the merchant ſhips were afterwards captured by the French, near the coaſt of Ireland, on their voyage to England. The iſland of St. Martin, and the ſettlements of Demarary and Eſſequibo, on the continent of South America, were ſoon after reduced.

Thus

Thus was one great object in breaking with Holland accompliſhed: another was to prevent their trade to the Baltic, to effect which, Vice Admiral Hyde Parker was ſent out with five line of battle ſhips, one of fifty guns, and five large frigates to intercept a Dutch fleet, which he met with off the Dogger Bank, conſiſting of eight two decked line of battle ſhips, and ſeveral large frigates; theſe were convoy to a fleet of merchantmen going to the northward. With the true ſpirit of a Britiſh ſeamen, he engaged the enemy, although ſo much ſuperior in numbers. The battle was obſtinate; and proved that the Dutch had not loſt that firmneſs in time of action, which had been ſo conſpicuous in the conteſts between the two powers in the laſt century. The engagement was maintained for almoſt four hours, when the ſhips of each ſquadron becoming unmanageable, they lay to for a conſiderable time near each other, but at length the Dutch ſhips of war, with their merchantmen, bore away for the Texel, and one of their ſixty-four gun ſhips ſunk. The Engliſh, in this hard conteſt, loſt in killed and wounded 443 men. In conſequence of this action, the Dutch Baltic fleet was unable to purſue its voyage. Parker returned home in diſguſt, at not being ſent out with a ſufficient force. The additional ſhips which he aſked for had been withheld from him, without any ſpecific ſervice being aſſigned them; and though his Sovereign paid him peculiar attention in viſiting him on board his ſhip at Chatham, the veteran ſtruck his flag, and withdrew from the ſervice. The nation had been ſo long accuſtomed to ſee thoſe officers who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for the length and eminence of their ſervices, retiring with gloomy diſcontent, at the conduct of the marine miniſter, that this inſtance was obſerved as a common occurrence, although no circumſtance in the then critical

ſituation

ſituation of the empire could be a more warrantable cauſe of alarm, or a more neceſſary ſubject for inveſtigation.

The operations againſt the Dutch were not confined to theſe objects. Commodore Johnſtone was inveſted with the command of a ſquadron deſtined to attack the Cape of Good Hope; from whence he was to proceed to the Spaniſh ſettlement of Buenos Ayres, in the Rio de la Plato of South America, where a dangerous inſurrection had given great alarm to the court of Madrid. Our Miniſtry had been apprized of the poſture of affairs in thoſe parts by a prieſt, who had been ſent a priſoner from thence to Spain, for his conduct in fomenting this civil commotion, but the ſhip in which he was embarked, happened to be taken by an Engliſh cruiſer. This man accompanied the Commodore on the expedition. The republic of Holland, unable to make head againſt this attack, was obliged to ſeek protection from France, and a fleet was ſent out from Breſt, of ſuperior force, in order to counteract the deſigns of Commodore Johnſtone, whoſe exact ſtrength was well known to the French Commander, M. de Suffrein, who came up with the Britiſh fleet at the Cape de Verd iſlands, and attacked it whilſt lying under the protection of the Portugueſe flag; in the ſmall iſland of St. Jago, ſeveral outward-bound Eaſt-Indiamen being in company. The French were, however, diſgracefully beaten off, with great loſs and damage; but as they reached the Cape before the Britiſh Commander, the attempt upon that place was effectually fruſtrated, and the French became actual maſters of the ſettlement and harbour. Five homeward bound Dutch Eaſt Indiamen were afterwards ſurprized by Johnſtone, four of which he captured, the other was burnt by its crew. It was now found neceſſary to relinquiſh the objects of the expedition. The ſhips deſtined for the Eaſt Indies proceeded

on

on their voyage thither, and the commodore returned home with his prizes.

The immenſe quantity of merchandize found on the iſland of St. Euſtatius, detained Admiral Rodney for a conſiderable time on that ſpot, and although a large fleet was expected to arrive from France, which Sir Samuel Hood was cruiſing with the Britiſh fleet to intercept, yet three ſhips of the line remained with the Commander in Chief. Hood remonſtrated in vain againſt the ſtation which he was appointed to keep, as ſuch in which he could not prevent the junction of the French ſhips in the harbour of Martinique with the fleet from Europe. The event proved his ſuggeſtion to have been judicious, although ſlighted by his ſuperior officer: the French became ſtronger by five ſhips of the line. He fought them, however, with this odds, and kept them long at bay. Rodney at length, took the command, and having now collected his whole force, after ſome time, went in ſearch of the enemy, who had already reduced the iſland of Tobago. The Britiſh fleet conſiſted of twenty-one ſhips of the line, the French of twenty-four. A glorious opportunity preſented of deciding this long-protracted conteſt. The two fleets were drawn up in order of battle, the Britiſh ſeamen exulted in the proſpect of action: they were kept all night under arms *, but the next day did not gratify their expectations. The French were far from becoming ſo confident by the advantage which their ſuperiority of numbers gave them, as to ſeek their enemy, and the Britiſh Admiral was induced to repreſs the ardour of his men, becauſe there was no port at hand to afford a retreat for the diſabled ſhips, but to this inconvenience the French were equally expoſed. After this parade of battle, Sir

* June 5, 1781.

George

George Rodney returned to Europe in an 80gun ſhip, at a time when the cauſe of his country demanded his moſt ſtrenuous and bold exertions, which moſt probably would have prevented the cataſtrophe which followed on the American continent.

Gen. Arnold, whoſe ſignal intrepidity and enterpriſing ſpirit had effected every thing which the Americans had atchieved in offenſive operations againſt the Britiſh forces, if the ſurpriſe at Trenton be excepted, abandoning the cauſe which he had ſo powerfully ſupported, went over to the Britiſh army, and was appointed to the rank of Brigadier General. Early in the campaign of 1781, a force was ſent out from New York, againſt the trading parts of Virginia, the command of which was given to Major General Philips, ſecond to whom was Arnold. Soon after the arrival of theſe troops at the mouth of James River, General Philips was ſeized with a fever, which cauſed his death; the command therefore devolved on the American Renegado. Vaſt quantities of tobacco were deſtroyed at Peterſburg, together with barracks for troops, ſtores and ſhipping in that vicinity. In the official account of this expedition, no mention is made of burning towns. Earl Cornwallis, in the mean time, with the ſouthern army,, was penetrating into the heart of the Province, and had reached Halifax Country, having gained a ſignal victory over General Greene at Guildford, in the interior part of North Carolina, on the 15th of March. The force under Arnold having fully accompliſhed the deſtruction of every thing in thoſe parts, returned to New York, and ſhortly after, the ſame General paid a viſit to the coaſt of Connecticut, the Province which gave him birth. Here he deſtroyed ſome ſhipping, together with conſiderable quantities of naval ſtores and European manufactures. The town of New

London,

London, ſituated on the River Thames, poſſeſſing the beſt port and harbour in the Colony, was reduced to aſhes. The people of this town are ſaid to have been the inventers of the practice of tarring and feathering, which was firſt uſed as a puniſhment for hereſy, and inflicted upon Quakers and Anabaptiſts, but in the commencement of the diſpute with Great Britain, the oppoſers of the popular ſentiment received the ſame condemnation. The deſtruction of this town cannot be palliated as an *unavoidable* event *, for a late writer has told us, that the houſes were inſulated, at the diſtance of three, four, or five yards, one from the other, to prevent the ravages of fire †. The Americans ſoon after received ample compenſation for this injury, in the ſurrender of Earl Cornwallis and his whole army, at York-town in Virginia, on the 19th of October, 1781, to General Waſhington, at the head of an army compoſed of Americans and French, which his Lordſhip ſtates to conſiſt of 16,000 men, one half of which was Americans and the other French, beſides which, 5000 militia were aſſembled, and an immenſe train of heavy artillery was employed. The French, by their fleet, being maſters of the Cheſapeak Bay, effectually cut off all relief from the main army at New-York, and Admiral Digby, with a reinforcement of ſhips, arrived too late to ſtrengthen the Britiſh fleet under Admiral Graves ‡.

* See Sir Henry Clinton's letter, dated Sept. 12, in the London Gazette of Tueſday, Nov. 6, 1781.

† General Hiſtory of Connecticut, p. 135.

‡ The ſource of this misfortune may be plainly traced to the Dutch war; for had the ſhips which were employed againſt that enemy, been ſent to the Weſt Indies, they would have given ſuch a decided ſuperiority to this country at ſea, that nothing could have obſtructed the neceſſary relief being conveyed to Cornwallis from New-York.

Such

Such a fate attending a general, whoſe whole conduct throughout the war had been diſtinguiſhed by having taken the lead in every active ſervice; and in the execution of which he had proved his abilities to be equal to his ardour, excluded the laſt ray of hope from a wittol nation. Deſpair of reducing America ought to incline us to turn our eyes to our deſperate ſituation: to ſhew the ruin which awaits us in bankrupt fortune and exhauſted ſtrength, if we continue the conteſt. Let us then at length aim at conciliating the affections of the Americans, and invite a revival of their old habits. Let the long ſubſiſting private friendſhips among individuals in both countries, the ties of kindred, the influence of religion, manners, and language, and the cement of commercial intercourſe once more be rendered operative; and fully to effect theſe ſalutary purpoſes, let us invoke the hallowed genius of a Chatham, who, when the ebb of life was haſtening out, pronounced, "IF ANY "THING CAN PREVENT THE CONSUMMATION "OF PUBLIC RUIN, IT CAN ONLY BE NEW COUN-"CILS AND NEW COUNSELLORS; A SINCERE "CHANGE, FROM A SINCERE CONVICTION OF "PAST ERRORS*."

* Dr. Addington's letter to Sir James Wright.

The Amount and Application of the Sinking Fund, from the Year 1774 to 1781, both inclusive.

[See the Sinking Fund for the firſt five Years of Lord North's Miniſtry ſtated, page 168.]

Charged on the ſinking fund for the ſervice of the year 1774 - - -	2,080,696	
Balance to Jan. 5, 1775 - -	11,239	
The quarter ending 5th of April	884,447	
		2,976,382
Charged for the ſervice of 1775 -	1,904,313	
Balance Jan. 5, 1776 - -	17,869	
Quarter, ending 5th of April -	962,571	
		2,884,753
Charged for the ſervice of 1776 -	1,837,428	
Balance Jan. 5, 1777 - - -	295,832	
Quarter, ending 5th of Aprll -	760,363	
		2,893,623
Charged for the ſervice of 1777 —	1,939,636	
Balance Jan. 5, 1777 — -	0 0 0	
Produce to 5th of April — -	703,700	
		2,643,336
Charged for the ſervice of 1778 —	2,296,209	
Balance Jan. 5, 1778 —	0 0 0	
Balance 5th of April ——	0 0 0	
		2,296,209
Charged for the ſervice of 1779 -	2,071,854	
Balance Jan. 5, 1780 - - -	0 0 0	
Balance 5th of April - - -	650,458	
		2,722,312
Charged for the ſervice of 1780 -	1,849,542	
Balance Jan. 5, 1781 - - -	288,347	
Quarter, ending 5th of April - -	757,087	
		2,894,976
Charged for the ſervice of 1781 -	1,854,566	

Sums

Sums voted for the Service of the Navy, from Jan. 12, 1771, when the Earl of Sandwich became Marine Minister, to the End of the Year 1781.

For the year 1771	—	3,082,499
1772	—	2,070,664
1773	—	1,885,573
1774	—	2,104,917
1775	—	1,934,866
1776	—	3,699,886
1777	—	4,210,305
1778	—	5,001,895
1779	—	4,589,069
1780	—	7,003,284
1781	—	7,236,277
		42,819,235

Beſides which, the Navy Debt exceeds ſix Millions.

Funded Debt, created from January 1776 to the End of 1781.

		Intereſt paid thereon	Computed produce of Taxes.
For the ſervice of the year 1776	2,000,000	64,000	73,000
Ditto - 1777	5,000,000	225,000	242,000
Ditto - 1778	6,000,000	330,000	336,000
Ditto - 1779	7,000,000	472,500	478,000
Ditto - 1780	12,000,000	696,150	701,616
Ditto - 1781	21,000,000	660,000	704,000
	53,000,000	2,447,650	

*** The taxes have fallen ſo much ſhort of their computed value, that they do not pay the intereſt upon the annuities by more than half a million.

F I N I S.

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